दिनांक	सदस्य संख्या	दिनांक	सदस्य संख्या

Vol. V. Part I.

TRAVANCORE ARCHÆOLOGICAL SERIES

Published under the orders of the Government of Travancore.

Stone and Copper-plate Inscriptions of Travancore with 5 plates

BY

A. S. RAMANATHA AYYAR, B. A., M. R. A. S.,
Superintendent of Archæology, Travancore State.

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No. 1—The rock-cut cave at Kaviyur.

The *List of Antiquities* of the Travancore State compiled in manuscript by the late Mr. T. A. Gopinatha Rao has the following note against Kaviyūr, a village 4 miles north-east of Tiruvalla, the head-quarters of the taluk of the same name in the Quilon Dn.

"Besides the Śiva temple in the village, there is a rock-cut shrine dedicated to the same god in this place. From the sculptures in it, it could be assigned to the 7th century A. D. It has no inscriptions however."

This place was therefore visited not only for an inspection of this ancient rock-cut temple, an architectural feature not so common in the West Coast, but also for the purpose of checking the inscriptions published on pages 288 and 289 of Volume I of the *Travancore Archæological Series*, with a view to fill in certain blank spaces left untranscribed in them. In the case of the latter, the *in situ* examination has yielded good results and the texts of the inscriptions, as now revised, have also been given below.

Before proceeding to describe the cave at Kaviyūr, it will not be out of place here to trace the genesis of cave architecture in South India and make a comparative study of this cave with similar excavations lying scattered elsewhere in the Madras Presidency.

It is a recognised fact in the history of South Indian temple architecture that rock-cut temples were an epoch-making innovation introduced by the great Pallava king Mahēndravarman I (600-630), a pre-eminent figure among the early sovereigns of that dynasty and a cultured patron of letters and art, himself the author of a burlesque in Sanskrit, who on conversion by saint Appar (Tirunāvukkaraiyar) from Jainism to the Śaivite cult exhibited his fervour by excavating temples in honor of the god of his new faith at several places within his dominions *viz.*, Trichinopoly, Pallāvaram, Māmuṇḍūr, Śiyamaṅgalam, Mahēndravāḍi[1] and Daḷāvanūr. In one such unfinished cave excavated perhaps under his personal supervision at Maṇḍagappaṭṭu in the Chingleput District, he has boasted of his achievement in the following inscription:—

एतदनिष्टकमद्रुममलोहमसुधं विचित्रचित्तेन निर्म्मापितन्नृपेण ब्रह्मेश्वरविष्णुलक्षितायतनम् ।[2]

and has, here and elsewhere, complimented himself with the titles '*Vichitrachitta*' (the original-minded) and '*Chitrakārapuli*' (*chaityakārapuli?* the excavator of *chaityas* or cave-temples), two *birudas* which he had deservedly earned on account of the new style of temples which his genius was able to introduce in South India. The negations specified in the description of the cave at Maṇḍagappaṭṭu presuppose the existence, before the time of this king, of temples which were usually

---

1. Compare: कारितं गुणभरेन विदार्य्य शिलाम् । (*Ep. Ind.* Vol. IV, p. 153.)
2. *Mahēndravarman Inscription*, page 2.

G. P. T. 862. 250. 24-1-24. B

constructed of brick, timber, metal and mortar; and it is due to the impermanent nature of these building materials that no such temples constructed prior to the seventh century are extant now in their entirety. The discovery of a detached pillar of the cave-pillar type set up in a *maṇḍapa* in the Ēkāmranātha temple at Conjeeveram[1] and containing several indisputable titles of this Pallava king, goes also a long way to confirm the above statement that earlier structural temples even in his own reign were of perishable material in which granite did not preponderate and that the Maṇḍagappaṭṭu cave temple was perhaps the first of its kind excavated by him in South India on the model, presumably, of the caves at Uṇḍavalli and Bezwada in the north.

The rock temples excavated by this king present certain common features in plan and design which enable us to fix their authorship without great difficulty, and they have therefore been classified by Dr. Dubreuil of Pondicherry under one group called 'the Mahēndra style'. They have an unornamental façade which is generally the eastern or western face of the rock in which they are cut and, on plan, show a small square chamber for the location of the presiding deity and a rectangular hall in front, the roof of which is supported by rock-cut pillars and pilasters of a peculiar ungainly type called the 'cave-pillars'. These solid pillars hewn out of the rock consist of three sections, the top and bottom portions being in the form of cubes about 2′ in dimension each side, while their middle portions are short shafts with chamfered corners and an octagonal section obtained by bevelling off the angles of the cubical portions; *i. e.* they are combination pillars of the *brahmakānta* and the *vishṇukānta* varieties. The faces of the upper and lower cubes are bare, but are also sometimes ornamented with medallions of conventional lotuses resembling those found on the Buddhist rails. These pillars have no separate capitals and are surmounted by simple brackets or corbels whose ends which are rounded upwards, are either bare or sometimes decorated with horizontal rows of roll ornament. The massive and rather uncouth proportions of these pillars suggest that they were tentative experimentations in pillar-chiselling, while the pioneer architects of the rock excavations were apprehensive as to the proper pillar strength necessary to support the enormous load of solid granite above; but with increased experience and training the southern craftsmen evolved in the succeeding styles of cave temples well-designed pillars (probably after wooden models), which though they missed the antique architectural effect and stability of the earlier type were decidedly of greater elegance and of better proportions. The rectangular hall in front of the sanctuary sometimes contains one or more panels of excellent sculpture representing some puranic theme Śaiva or Vaishṇava without great distinction. The central shrine in the excavations of Mahēndravarman's time is a square chamber with plain undecorated walls, enshrining a cylindrical *liṅga* hewn out of the rock with a *yōni*-pedestal of the usual type. Two *dvārapālas* guard its entrance, each one standing in a niche on either side of the doorway and leaning on a sinister-looking bludgeon, his staff of office. The floor of the hall of the cave is raised a few feet above the natural ground level and is reached by a flight of three or four rock-cut steps, and the central shrine is again slightly more elevated than this hall. In front, the two-feet-wide verandah is generally sheltered by a heavy projecting cornice also cut out of the rock either

1. *Ibid.* page 6.

plain or decorated with the 'dormer-window' ornament. This, in short, is a typical excavation of the great Mahēndravarman's time.

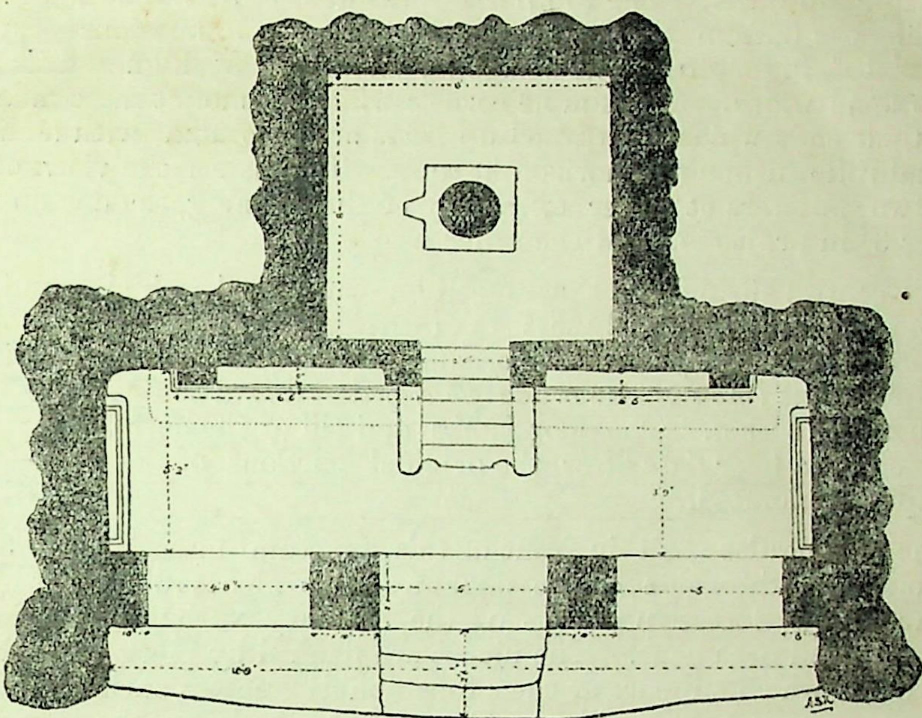


Fig. 1.

The Kaviyūr cave whose site plan is given above presents many points of similarity to the early type of rock-cut temples just now described. In common with the generality of Pallava excavations of Mahēndravarman's time, this cave has the usual orientation of a Śiva's shrine, its entrance facing west, the direction of the setting sun: and the cave has therefore been scooped out in the eastern of two massive boulders fronting each other and separated by a fissure nearly 15′ wide, on the summit of a low hillock of a friable variety of rock and debris, that raises its head above the surrounding cocoanut plantations, half a mile to the north of the principal Śiva temple of the village. The rock is of a coarse texture and the cave and the sculptures in it have therefore easily lent themselves to decay on account of the disintegrating action both of age and the weather. The wall surfaces and other portions have not been dressed with precision and neatness as in the case of excavations in closer-grained rock.

The floor of the cave is a few feet above the natural ground level and is approached by a flight of three crude steps hollowed out of the rock itself. In front is a narrow verandah 2½′ wide unprotected by the usual convex cornice moulding, and two grooves have therefore been cut at the ends of the top to receive a long wooden beam spanning the width of the cave, from which a temporary sunshade could be projected in timber or other cheaper material. The cave is 19′ 8″ broad and 8½′ high.

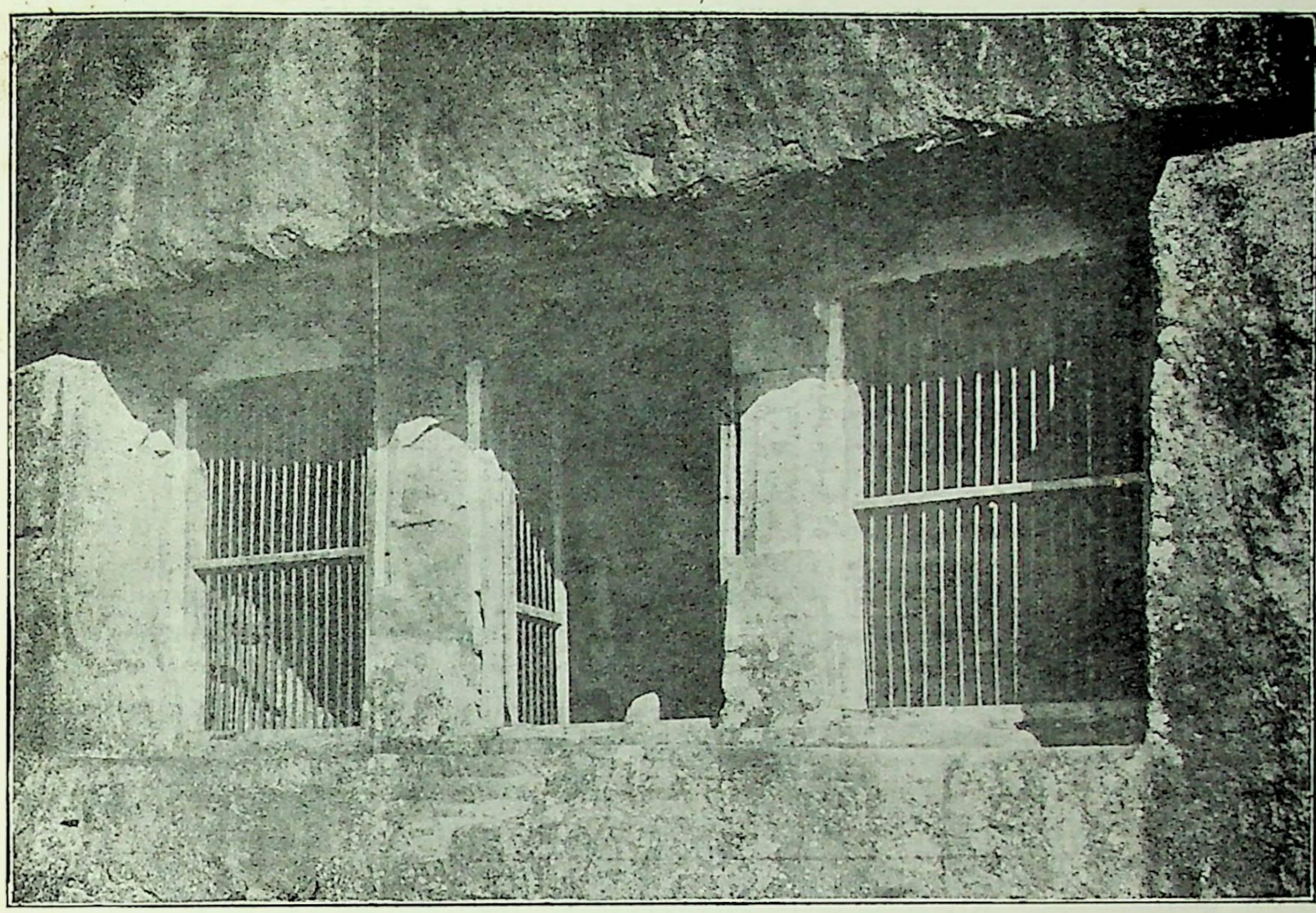
Two pillars 8′ 8″ in height divide the breadth of the cave into three openings two of which are each 5′ broad, while that on the proper right is

slightly smaller, being only 4′ 8″. The two pillars are of the early Pallava cave-type but their bottom and top portions do not form perfect cubes, as the pillars slightly taper upwards. The top block measures 1′ 7″ by 2′ 2″ and is 1′ 4″ in height, while the bottom portion is slightly bigger in dimensions being 1′ 10″ by 2′ 2″ and 2′ 10″ in height. The octagonal shaft is 3′ 3″ high and its facets vary from 7″ to 9″ in width. The simple corbels which surmount these pillars are 2′ 3″ deep and their ends which are turned upwards are decorated with a slight variant of the usual roll ornament in horizontal rows. To balance the view of the façade there are two pilasters at either extremity of the opening, the one on the proper right being 8″ in projection and the other nearly 10″.

The central shrine is a square cell measuring 8′ each side and has a level ceiling whose height is slightly less than that of the other portions of the cave. This chamber is absolutely devoid of ornamentation and enshrines in its centre a cylindrical rock-cut *liṅga* whose crude *yōni*-pedestal is a separate piece slipped on to it through its socket. The door-jambs and sill of the entrance appear to have been replaced at a later date after the original portions of the rock-cut entrance had perhaps deteriorated.

The rectangular hall in front of this sanctum measures 19′ 8″ by 5′ and contains, one on either side of the doorway, two niches 6′ 5″ broad and 6′ 3″ high mounted on 2 feet pedestals of the ordinary variety consisting of three rows of plain band ornament. The niches are flanked by pilasters each 11″ broad and 6′ 3″ high, which support at their tops double brackets surmounted by a plain architrave contiguous to the ceiling. The niche to the left of the entrance contains a life-size figure of a *dvārapāla*, who is limb for limb a replica of the door-keeper guarding the entrance at the left in the Mahēndravarman cave at Trichinopoly. His head dress is tall and conical and from beneath it his locks fall in picturesque curls on his shoulder. He leans with an aggressive attitude on a formidable club round which a cobra has entwined itself. He wears no *yajñōpavīta* and the ornaments that adorn him are the *karṇakuṇḍalā*, the *hrinmāla*, the *udarabandha*, the *bāhuvalaya*, and the *ūrusūtra*. The corresponding figure in the other panel is not a duplicate of this door-keeper, as one would expect to find, but cuts a different pose. He has his hands crossed on his breast and stands with head slightly bent in a respectful attitude of attention. He wears his hair in a tangled mass knotted in the middle (*jaṭāmakuṭa*) and the ornaments that decorate his person are the same as those of his comrade on his right. But though he does not wield the club, the insigne of his calling as gate-keeper, he has to be identified as such in as much as these personages are always represented in pairs in front of Śiva and Vishṇu temples. It is a point worth noting that both these chamberlains are tall, well-knit figures with only two muscular hands—an anatomical feature characteristic of early sculptures.

The northern and southern wings of this hall also contain respectively a well-executed image of Gaṇēśa with four hands and a standing life-size figure of a bearded man. It may be noted that a similar rock-cut Śiva temple at Arittapatti in the Mēlur taluk of the Madura District also contains an image of Gaṇēśa in one wing of the porch in front of the *garbhagriha*. As for the individual with the



VIEW OF THE ROCK CUT CAVE AT KAVIYUR.



DETAIL OF SCULPTURE IN THREE OF ITS PANELS.

A. S. Ramanatha Ayyar.

peaked beard his identity cannot well be established in the absence of any elucidative labels or inscriptions in the cave itself. He wears his hair in the top-knot fashion peculiar to the west coast and his pendulous ears which are much damaged, show indications of having once been decorated with ear rings. He has no *yajñōpavīta*, but wears only a lower cloth hanging up to his shins in the orthodox mode. His feet are broken off at the instep on account of the decomposition of the coarse-grained rock. He keeps his arms akimbo, and his left hand which rests on his hip, also holds a jug-like vessel with an oval body, a long stoppered neck and a short thick spout. The shape of this vessel is peculiar unlike that of its modern counterpart, the *giṇḍi*, the popular utensil in every Malayāḷi household and reminds one curiously of a Greek vase or a Mughal hukka, with which specimens however it could never have had an affinity whatsoever. As the image represented cannot be that of any divinity known to iconography, it may be presumed that it stands for a portrait-statue of perhaps the author of the cave itself; but the question as to who and what he was, whether he was a royal personage or a private individual, is a poser for the solution of which, the cave furnishes no clue except that from the general appearance and style of the excavation, one may not be far wrong in assigning it to the 8th century A. D. or thereabouts.

In this connection, it is worthy of consideration that stone epigraphs of Chēra kings are not found to the south of Tiruvalla and that even the neighbouring temples at Peruneyil and Tirukkaḍittānam, which are *structural* monuments of the circular *vēsara* type peculiar to Malabar, contain inscriptions of Bhāskara-Ravivarman[1] of the end of the 10th century A. D., while the Śiva temple at Kaviyūr[2] itself, another notable example of the same type, contains two stone records dated so early as Kali 4051 and 4052, *i. e.*, A. D. 950-51. The cave-temple can therefore be presumed to have come into existence during Chēra rule at some date prior to this later limit. Popular tradition, here as elsewhere, attributes its excavation to supernatural agency and one such yarn, an obvious copy of the myth current at Rāmēśvaram regarding an identical incident, actually derives the name of the village Kaviyūr from Kapi, the monkey-god (Hanumān), who is stated to have installed a *liṅga* and constructed a temple here for his master's worship. Instances of similar fanciful derivations of place-names are not rare in the *sthala-purāṇas;* but it is extremely doubtful if Rama ever paid a visit to Kaviyūr in his southern perigrinations and requisitioned his aid-de-camp to bring a *liṅga* for his worship at that particular place. A rational explanation for the origin and date of the cave will be to suggest that it was excavated on the design of similar caves existing elsewhere in the Trichy, Madura and Tinnevelly Districts, with which models the sculptor of the Kaviyūr cave may have been familiar. The Pallava king Narasimhavarman I (*c*.630-68) himself claims to have vanquished the Kēraḷas,[3] and if this is not a mere boast, it will mean that this meeting may have served as an occasion for the knowledge of cave architecture of the earlier Pallava style to filter into the Kēraḷa country. It may also be noted that the Narasimha cave-temple[4] at

1. *Trav. Archl. Series*, Vol. II, pp. 33-49.
2. *Ibid.* Vol. I, pp. 288-89.
3. Kuram plates, *S. I. I.* Vol. I, p. 152.
4. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. VIII, p. 318.

Ānamalai in the Madura District came into existence in 770 A. D. excavated as it was by a minister of the Pāṇḍya king, Jaṭila-Parāntaka, and that the monolithic cave at Nāmakkal in the Salem District within the old Chēra dominions and called the Adiyēndra-Vishṇugṛiha in a Pallava-Grantha inscription, is believed to have been constructed by an early Adigaimāṉ chief by about the end of the 8th century.[1] Another rock-cut cave nearer home is the one at Tirunandikkarai within the State, whose age has been tentatively fixed[2] as the latter half of the 8th century from the palaeographical indications of the early Vaṭṭeḻuttu record engraved on a pillar therein. From all these premises, the Kaviyūr cave can also be assigned to the second half of the 8th century if not earlier, although a tendency to give it a slightly earlier age is justifiable from its close resemblance to early Pallava work.

No. 2—Revised Text of the Kaviyur Inscription of Kali 4052.[3]

1 ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ [||*] கலியுகம் துடங்கி நாலாயிரத்து அய்ம்பத்திராமாண்டு க-
வியூர் ஊரார் அவிரோதத்தால் முக்கால்வட்டத்துக் கூடி கொயிலு
ருள்ளிருக்க மங்கலத்து நாராயணங் கெயவன் கிடங்குபருலுள் தில-
தமங்கலத்தொடியும் எட்டிக்கரியில் அஞ்பதின் கலமுங் கொடுத்தா-
ன் [|*] மங்கலத்து நாராயணங் கிரிட்டன் கொடுத்த பூமி குமாரக்-
கொற்றக்கரி நூற்றுகலமும் ஈரை இளாகை 'நெட்டொடியில் நாலொ
ன்றும் ஈரைக்கு [இளா]த்தூக்கு'[4] அவகளிடைக் கொண்ட ஐம்பதின்
கலமும் திருக்கவியூர்த் தெவர்க்கு இரண்டு நந்தாவிளக்கும் அகத்து
பந்திரடிக்கு நாநாழியரி திருவமிர்தும் உச்சிக்கு நாழியரி திருவக்கிர
மிரண்டு கலமு மிப்பூமியா லிருவரும்

2 அமைச்சார் [|*] இச்செலவும் இச்செலவினுக்கு அமைச்ச பூமியும் வில-
க்கப் பெறூர் [|*] விலக்கு மூராளர் வெவ்வெற்று வகையால் பெரு-
மாள்க்கு ஐம்பத்திரு கழைஞ்சு பொன் தண்டப்படுவது [|*] நாடுவா-
ழுமவர்க்கு இருபத்தைங் கழைஞ்சு பொன் தண்டப்படுவது [|*] தா-
னமும் பரடையும் மூராண்(ம்)மைக்கு மிடையிடுங் கெட்டு மூழிக்களத்
தொழுக்கப்படி கச்சம் பிழைச்சாராவது [|*] விலக்குமவகள்க் கனு-
பந்தம் பறையுமவகளும் இத்தண்டமெ படுவது [|*] ஊரா ரவிரொத-
த்தால்க் கூடியு மிச் செலவு மற்றொன்றினுக்கு செலுத்திக்கப் பெ-
றூர் [|*] 'இச்செலவெல்லா மொட்டித் கெயகாலத்து செலுத்தா
க்கால் முட்டிரட்டி செலுத்தக் கடவியர்'[5] [|*] இப்பூமி எல்லாம் உழவு
மங்கலத்தவகள் தந்ததியில் மூத்தொரிருவரும் சிறைக்கரையில் மூத்த-
வனுங் கூடி அடுத்து பலம் முக்கால்வட்டத்து கொடுப்-

3 பிக்கக் கடவியர் [||*]

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1. *Madras Epigl. Report* for 1906, p. 76.
2. *Trav. Archl. Series*, Vol. III, p. 201.
3. No. 1 of 1087 published in the *Trav. Archl. Series*, Vol. I, p. 288.
4, 5. The portions between inverted commas are engraved separately below the original inscription and had been left out. They are now tentatively inserted at these places.

No. 3—Revised Text of the Kaviyur Inscription of Kali 4051.[1]

1. ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ [||*] கலியுகந் துடங்கி நாலாயிரத்[து*] அம்பத்தொரா மா-ண்டு திருக்கவியூர் பட்டாரக[ர்*]க்கு மகிழஞ்சேரித் தேவன் செந்நன் திருவிளக்குந் திருவமிருதுந் திருவக்கிரமுந் திருச்சந்நணமுந் திருப்பு-கையு மமச்சான் [||*] விளக்கினுக்கு உரி நெய்யும் இருநாழி அரித் திருவமிர்தும் புகையரமண்ணினூற் செல்வித [||*] தேவன் செந்ந மைச்ச காராளராற் செலித்திச்சு கொள்ளக்கடவியர் [||*]

2. ஊராள செந்நன்கரி திருவக்கிரத்தின்னு குடிகூறு சந்தனத்தின்னு புகை-க்கு சிறுபுனயில்தலை சாத்தன் கூறு அமைச்சான் [||*] மூழிக்களத்து கச்சத்தொடொக்கும் |—

No. 4—Copper-plate record of a Ramnad Setupati: Kollam 945.

The subjoined Tamil record is engraved on both the sides of a single copper plate kept in the Palace Chellamvagai at Trivandrum. It measures 10″ × 5″ exclusive of an ornamental projection at the middle of the top of the plate, which is 4″ broad and 2·5″ high and through the centre of which has been bored the ring-hole of the plate. The writing on the sheet is in the Tamil alphabet of the latter half of the 18th century in which the record is also dated, except for one line of writing in Telugu in the middle of the first side, the sign-manual of the Sētupatis, *viz.*, శ్రీరామనాథస్వామిసహాయం (*Śrī - Rāmanāthasvāmi - sahāyam*), Telugu having been first introduced into official routine and in the sign-manual by Vijayaraghunātha-Sētupati (1647-72).[1] The inscription contains both the Śaka date 1691 and its Kollam equivalent 945 which corresponded to the year Virōdhi, and the astronomical details furnished therein work out to A. D. 1769, Novr. 5.

The record registers the sale-deed given by Muttu-Rāmalinga Vijayaraghunātha Sētupati Karttadēvar to the Travancore king Śrī Padmanābhadāsa Vañchi Bālarāmavarma-Kulaśēkharapperumāḷ Mahārāja, in respect of the sale for 4000 *varāhaṉ* of the village of Kākkūr, which was afterwards presented by the latter to the temple of Rāmanāthaswāmin at Rāmēśvaram for conducting a service

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1. No. 2 of 1087 published in the *T. A. S.* Vol. I, p. 289.
2. One other inscription in the Śiva temple is engraved on a pillar in the *suṟṟu-maṇḍapa* and records that the pillar was the gift of a certain Bhaṭṭatiri of Veḷḷitturutti. It is in Malayalam characters and reads as follows:
   1 വെള്ളിത്തു-
   2 രുത്തി ഭട്ട-
   3 തിരി പണി-
   4 ചെയ്യിച്ച
   5 തൂൺ ഇത [||*].
3. *Sendamiḻ*, Vol. VI, page 45.

(*kaṭṭaḷai*) to the god in his name. While this deed was drawn up, the Sētupati is stated to have been present in (the place called) *Viraiyādagaṇḍaṉ* to the east of Kāttūr *alias* Kulōttuṅgaśōḷanallūr, a village in Togavūr-kūṟṟam. Kulōttuṅga-śōḷanallūr and Viraiyādagaṇḍaṉ were two of the many places which the Ramnad chiefs used as their headquarters. Of these the latter is in the Rājasiṅgamaṅgala-śēkharam in Śētu-nāḍu.[1]

We learn[2] that on the death of Śella-Tēvar *alias* Vijayaraghunātha-Sētupati in 1760 A. D. his nephew Muttu-Rāmaliṅga Vijayaraghunātha-Sētupati, the infant son of Muttutiruvāy-Nāchchiyār, who had been perhaps adopted[3] by his uncle was placed on the throne under the regency of his mother helped by the able Daḷavāy Dāmōdaram Piḷḷai.[4] The prince must have been only about ten years of age at the time of this epigraph. Another copper-plate record of his, dated in Śaka 1693, has been registered as No. 7 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1910-11, where as here, he has been decorated with a number of high-sounding and fanciful titles, many of which appear to have been copied from the long lists of similar attributes prefacing the later Vijayanagara grants. Some of these, however, such as *Tēvainagarādhipaṉ* (the lord of Tēvai-nagara) *Ravikulaśēkharan* (the crest-jewel of the Solar race), *Hanumakētanan* and *Garuḍakētanan* (the bearer of the Hanumān and Garuḍa flags) were also borne by his predecessors. This Sētupati has been called Muttu-Rāmaliṅga Vijayaraghunātha-Sētupati Kāttadēvar in the *Madras Epigraphical Report* noticed above, but the last component of this title must correctly be *Karttadēvar* instead of *Kāttadēvar*. The Sētupatis held the subordinate position of vassals of the Madura Nāyakas who were themselves the Governors of the southern provinces of the Vijayanagara Empire, such as it was at that time. The Nāyakas did not assume any independent royal titles, but were content with being called '*Karttākkaḷ*' (Skt. *kartā*=an agent or representative), which Dr. Caldwell has rendered into the English equivalent of 'High Commissioner'. The Sētupatis, who were appointed by these Nāyakas as *Pāḷaiyakkārar* on military tenure for the collection of revenue and the maintenance of peace and order in the neighbouring disaffected regions, must have also styled themselved as '*Karttākkaḷ*'. *Dēva* is also the hereditary title of the Maravas.

In his *Madura Manual*, Nelson has abstracted from Ponnusvami-Tevan's *Memorandum* some interesting data which explain, with a show of plausibility, the origin of some of these *birudas* and their significance. The appointment of *Toṇḍiyinturai-kāvalaṉ* (the warden of the Toṇḍi[5] harbour) appears to have been conferred on Ativīra Raghunātha-Sētupati for his help against the Chōḷas, who had invaded the Pāṇḍya country; while the privileges of raising the Hanumān and the Garuḍa-banner seem to have been conceded by the Vijayanagara kings for

1. *Śendamiḻ*, Vol. II, p. 34.
2. Sewell's *List of Antiquities*, Vol. II, p. 231.
3. *Vide* the title '*Raghunātha-Sētupati-vamśōddhārakaraṇa*' in line 30 of the text.
4. The hero of the Tamil poem called the '*Vēḷvikkōvai*'.
5. Toṇḍi is a harbour to the east of Madura and to the north of Ramnad and it was famous in ancient days for its seaborne trade. It is different from its namesake on the West Coast called the Kuṭṭuvaṉ-toṇḍi (Kaḍaluṇḍi).

distinguished field service against their Muhammadan foes. The Sētupatis won also the title of '*Chōḷamaṇḍala-pratishṭhāpanāchārya*' by driving out the Telugu enemies of the Chōḷas in the capacity of Pāṇḍya vassals; while a later scion of that family assumed the title '*kaṇḍanāḍu-koṇḍu-koṇḍanāḍu-koḍādāṉ*' (he who conquers countries seen and never lets go the conquered territories) in commemoration of his decisive victory over the Chōḷas, whom he had pursued into their own dominions annexing Paṭṭukkōṭṭai and Arantāṅgi. This latter title was also borne by the kings of the Vijayanagara dynasty together with many others, among which the sporting epithet '*gajavēṭṭai-kaṇḍaruḷiya*' (who witnessed the elephant-hunt) was a special *biruda* affected by Dēvarāya II. Muttu-Krishnappa-Nāyaka of Madura (1602-09), who is credited with the revival of the dynasty of the Ramnad Sētupatis and with the installation of Śaḍayaka-Tēvar on that throne in 1604 A. D., is stated to have given him a considerable slice of land comprising the present districts of Ramnad and Śivagaṅga, with the express obligation that he should keep in check the turbulent Marava chiefs who harassed and blackmailed the pilgrims journeying to the holy island of Rāmēśvaram: and from that time at least, if not earlier from the days of Rāma himself who is believed by the Ramnad Chiefs to have first appointed them as Sētupatis (the guardians of Sētu), they have assumed the titles '*Sētumūlaraksha-dhurandhara*' and '*Rāmanāthasvāmikārya-dhurandhara*'. The Rāmēśvaram temple itself contains the effigies of many of the members of this dynasty. The epithets *Pāṇḍimaṇḍala-sthāpanācharya*' (establisher of the Pāṇḍyan kingdom) and '*tālikku-vēli*' (the fence round *i.e.*, protector of the Queen's marriage-badge) were bestowed on Tirumalai Raghunātha-Sētupati (1647 -72) by the great Tirumalai-Nāyaka supplemented by the gift of the three large villages of Tiruppūvaṇam, Tiruchchuḷi and Paḷḷimaḍam, in gratitude for the prompt and powerful aid that this chief rendered him in A. D. 1659 in routing the Mysore army in its notorious 'hunt for noses' and in saving Madura[1] from utter ruin at the hands of her vengeful foe. He was also called '*Daḷasiṅgam*' and is the hero of the *Daḷasiṅgamālai* of Aḻagiyachiṟṟambala-Kavirāyar of Mithilaippaṭṭi. Another Raghunātha-Sētupati, better known by the more popular sobriquet of Kiḻavaṉ-Sētupati, who was mainly instrumental in killing the Muhammadan adventurer Rustum-Khan, was awarded the title of '*pararājakēsari*' or '*pakaimannarśiṅgam*' by Chokkanātha-Nāyaka; while similar help against the Muhammadan invaders of Madura earned for the Ramnad chiefs the title of '*tulukkardaḷa-vibhaṭaṉ*' and '*tulukkarmōham-tavirttāṉ*'. Many of the other remaining embellishments are more poetic than significant, more the flattering compliments of court poets than meaningful titles deservedly earned. The conflict in which this Muttu-Rāmalinga-Sētupati was engaged with the combined forces of the Nawab of the Karnatic and the East India Company in 1773, his defeat and incarceration for seven years in Trichinopoly and his subsequent re-installation in 1780 A. D. are facts of later history with which our record has no connection. It may however be noted that it was this Sētupati who finished in A. D. 1769 the third *prākāra* of the Rāmēśvaram temple which was begun by Muttu-Raghunātha in A. D. 1740.

1. மனுக்கோடி காத்து மதுரையுங் காத்தா ளருந்தெய்வத்
தனுக்கோடி காத்தவ னோரகு நாத தளசிங்கமே — *Daḷaśiṅgamālai* (*Śendamiḻ*, Vol. IV, p. 49).

King[1] Bālarāmavarma-Kulaśēkharapperumāḷ (1758-98) who is the donor of the village of Kākkūr to the temple at Rāmēśvaram is a figure well-known in the history of Travancore as the *Dharmarāja*. It was during his long regime that the successive invasions of Hyder Ali and Tippu Sultan were effectively checked and a full account of his reign has been given on pages 369 *et. seq.* of the *Travancore State Manual*, Volume I, wherein he is called by the shorter name of Rāmavarman. On page 111 of Vol. IV of the *Travancore Archaeological Series* it has been stated on the authority of certain introductory verses in the *Bālarāmabharatam*, a work on the dancing art composed by the king himself, that the name of its royal author was[2] Bālarāmavarman; and this copper-plate record of Kollam 945 also names him as Śrī-Padmanābhadāsa Vañchi[1] Bālarāmavarma-Kulasēkharapperumāḷ Mahārāja. As other records and works make mention of him by the name of Rāmavarman also, it seems probable that the king who was known as Bālarāmavarman during the period of his heir-apparentship and the first few years of his reign (Kollam 937)[3] gradually dropped off the youthful prefix of his name, and that the '*Bāla*' of this record has to be corrected into *pāla* and tagged on to Vañchi, leaving the king's name as simple Rāmavarman. The Dutch sale-deed[4] of Kollam 964 calls him only *Vañchi-Bālamārttāṇḍa-Rāmavarman*; the *Rāmavarmayaśōbhūshaṇam*[5] and the *Vasulakshmīkalyāṇam* composed in the cyclic year Viśvāvasu (corresponding in all probability to Kollam 960) call him only by this shorter name; Rāmavarman (Aśvati-Tirunāḷ) who must have composed his *Rukmiṇīpariṇayam*[6] before his death in Kollam 963 when he was the *yuvarāja* refers to his uncle by the name of Rāmavarman only; and the Nawab's Cowlenamah[7] of A. D. 1766 (Kollam 942) names him only as the noble Rāma-Rāja, Zemindar of Malabar. It is therefore likely that the *Kiḷavanrāja* came to be known not as Bālarāmavarman but by the shorter name of Rāmavarman sometime about Kollam 942.

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1. In the expression வஞ்சிபாலராமவர்மகுலசேகரப்பெருமாள் occuring in *ll.* 32 and 50 of the record, it is possible to consider பால as a mistake for பால and take it along with வஞ்சி so as to mean 'the king or protector of (the town of) Vañchi as in the instances:

   वालमार्ताण्डवर्मकुलशेखरवञ्चिभूपः, वञ्चिक्ष्मापतिः, वञ्चिभूपश्रीवालराम, श्रीमद्वञ्चिकुलाधिपो श्रीवालरामप्रभुः and श्रीरामवर्मकुलशेखरवञ्चिभूपः;

   and take the king's name to be simply Rāmavarman in Kollam 945. In *Rāmavarmayaśōbhūshaṇam*, however, the following expressions are used:

   वञ्चिबालश्रीरामवर्मकुलशेखरभूपः, वञ्चिबालश्रीरामवर्मकुलशेखरसार्वभौमः etc.

2. *Vide* footnote above.
3. The Treaty of Cochin, *Trav. State Manual*, Vol. I. p. 371.
4. *State Manual*, Vol., I. p. 390.
5. *Rāmavarmayaśōbhūshaṇam* calls him indifferently by both the names and must have been composed early in the king's reign.
6. श्रीपद्मनाभदासवञ्चिपालकुलशेखररामवर्मणो भागिनेयेन सङ्गीतादिकलाभिज्ञेन रामवर्मनामधेयेन युवराजेन निवद्धमभिनवं रुक्मिणीपरिणयं नाम नाटकम् । He must be the prince referred to as 'भागिनेयस्वनामा' in the *Bālarāmabharatam*.
7. *State Manual*, Vol. I. p. 379.

The first attribute namely Padmanābhadāsa, 'the servant of lord Padmanābha', assumed by the sovereign in this inscription is in conformity with what is recorded of him in his book[1] referred to above, *viz.*, that in the presence and with the implied consent of his brother Ravivarman and nephew, his namesake, he gave away his kingdom to god Padmanābha, while he contented himself to rule it in His name and as His servant. Although the king has called himself as Bālarāmavarman except in one instance[2] and has named his work as *Bālarāmabharatam*, it is evident that he refers by the expression 'भागिनेयः स्वनामा' to his nephew Rāmavarman (Aśvati-Tirunāḷ) and not to his grand-nephew Bālarāmavarman II (Aviṭṭam-Tirunāḷ) for the reason, that the latter who was born in Kollam 957 (1782) stepped into the *yuvarāja's* shoes only after the death of the elder claimant Aśvati-Tirunāḷ in Kollam 963, and that by this time Ravivarman, the king's younger brother (evidently the Makayiram-Tirunāḷ of the Genealogical Table), who was present at the dedication ceremony had died in Kollam 961.[3] This work must have been composed by the king in the early years of his reign between 934 and 940 when he was still known by the more familiar name of Bālarāmavarman, although he may have discarded the prefix '*Bāla*' after his cornation, *tulābhāra* and *hiraṇyagarbha* ceremonies which he has referred to in his work[4] and which are known to have been celebrated during the regime of the minister Mārttāṇḍa Pillai Daḷavāy (Kollam 934-39).[5]

It may be noted that an *ōlai* document[6] in the Travancore Vernacular Records Office distinctly states that the dedication of the Travancore State to god Padmanābha was made in Kollam 925 in the reign of Vīra-Bālamārttaṇḍavarman himself; and as there is nothing improbable in it, the statement of the *Bālarāmabharatam* which claims the achievement for its author Bālarāmavarman has to be considered in the light of a confirmatory repitition of the original dedication by Bālamārttāṇḍavarman, which ceremonial the dutiful nephew went through perhaps at the time of his coronation within the first four or five years of his reign, in the company of the two princes of his family who were living at the time, namely his brother Ravivarman (Makayiram-Tirunāḷ) and nephew Rāmavarman (Aśvati-Tirunāḷ).

This king is reported to have undertaken a pilgrimage to the holy island of Rāmēśvaram in his sixtieth year in Kollam 959[7] and that in addition to the fulfilment of this religious visit incumbent on every devout Hindu, he also satisfied

1. तदनुजरविवर्मा भागिनेयः स्वनामा
   स्वयमपि स तु वञ्चिक्ष्मापतिश्चैकभावः ।
   सकलंभुवनभारं पद्मनाभाय दत्त्वा
   मनुपतिकुलभूपे स्वामिभृत्यस्वभावः ॥— *Trav. Archl. Series*, Vol. IV, p. 110.
2. श्रीरामवर्मकुलशेखरवञ्चिभूपो
   विद्वप्रियो निखिलसूरिगणेभ्य आर्यः । — *Trav. Archl. Series*, Vol. IV, p. 107.
3. *State Manual*, Vol. I, p. 333 and 385.
4. श्रीपद्मनाभपुरतस्स हिरण्यगर्भ-
   दानं तुलापुरुषदानमजस्रदीक्षः । — *Trav. Archl. Series*, Vol. IV, p. 108.
5. *State Manual*, Vol. I. p. 370.
6. *Vide infra.*
7. *State Manual*, Vol. I, p. 385.

his thirst for knowledge about the administration of the neighbouring dominions, which helped him much in effecting considerable improvement in the material prosperity of his own subjects. The donation registered in the present record is however 14 years earlier than the date of the royal tour of pilgrimage mentioned above.

In the *Āryavana-māhātmyam* which is a Sanskrit work composed in honor of god Śāsta at Āryankāvu, the halfway halt of the earlier days in the heart of the Ghat jungles on the pass connecting Travancore with the plains of Tinnevelly and now a station on the Quilon-Shencotta railway, this king is stated to have constructed good roads for the pilgrims resorting to that famous temple, to have policed the ill-reputed jungles which harboured many lawless brigands and wild animals and to have generally attended with parental care to the welfare of his subjects. Although the *purāṇa* under reference is, as usual with religious literature of this type, written in a mythical style as having been narrated by sage Agastya to his wife Lōpāmudrā and professes to be an excerpt from the *Skānda-purāṇa*, there are some indications to show that it may have been composed during the reign of the king himself, if not later. A few relevant verses are extracted below,[1] and it is noteworthy that this work also indirectly refers to the dedication of the dominions to god Padmanābha.

The language of the inscription is Tamil which is free from errors of composition, but mistakes in spelling and the introduction of Grantha letters in purely Tamil words and *vice versa* are largely noticeable. Sanskrit words have also suffered from wrong orthography in many instances and the corrected equivalents of some of them have been given in the foot-notes, where necessary.

The proper names occurring in the record are all mentioned among the boundaries of the village of Kākkūr and they have to be looked for in Ramnad

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1. अधुना श्रूयते तत्र महारण्येऽपि दुर्गमे ।
रामेण पृथ्वीपतिना मार्गश्च सुगमः कृतः ॥
मण्टपा विविधास्तीरे निर्भरस्य कृतास्तथा ।
क्षेत्रं च निर्मितं दिव्यं हरहर्योर्महात्मनोः ॥
अरण्यपत्तनग्रामसहितञ्च तदद्भुतम् ।
अनेकजनसंकीर्णं सर्वलोकोपकारकम् ॥

Although king Rāma mentioned above is the hero of the *Rāmāyaṇa* to suit the puranic background of the *māhātmyam*, the real reference seems to be to his namesake Rāmavarman (A. D. 1758—98) about whom the following verses are noted—

किञ्चान्यत्तस्य माहात्म्यं श्रुणुष्व श्राव्यमद्भुतम् ।
श्रीपद्मनाभदासस्य चेरनृपस्य धीमतः ॥
एतद्राज्यं समस्तञ्च पद्मनाभीयमेव तु ।
योगनिद्रेच्छुना तेन दत्तं राज्ञे पुरा प्रिये ॥
तस्य शास्तुर्बलेनैव केरळेशोऽत्र भूभृत् ।
व्याघ्रादि भीतिं सर्वेषां मनुष्याणान्निराकरोत् ॥ — These stray verses are from the chapter called *Rāmachērasamāgamaḥ*.

district. They are Taṭātakai-nāḍu (perhaps named after goddess Mīnākshī, Taṭātakai-pirāṭṭiyār), the sub-division in which Kākkūr was situated, Gadaiyaṉ-kaṇmāy, Karumaḷa-kaṇmāy, Karuśal-kuḷam, Pūnda-kuḷam, among the names of the tanks and Kumārakuruchchi and Mudukuḷattūr among the names of places. Tokavūr-kūṟṟam[1] is one of the seven sub-divisions into which the Kāna-nāḍu, which extended as far as Toṇḍi and Kāḷaiyārkōyil, was split up from olden days, while Kāna-nāḍu was again a district of Paṇṟi-nāḍu, the tract of land lying between the Pāṇḍya and Chōḷa kingdoms.

Text.[2]

First-side.

1 உ ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ [।*] ஸாலிவாஹந ஸகாப்த[ம்*] ... தன்மேற் செ-
ல்லாநின்ற

2 கொல்லம் ... ஆண்டு விரோதிநாம ஸம்வத்ஸரத்து அற்பசி மீ° உ௰க உ

3 ... உத்திராடந(க்ஷ)த்திரத்து ... ஸித்தியுஞ்
சூலந-

4 ாமயோகமு ... கரணமும் பெற்ற ஸுபதிநத்தில் ஸ்ரீமஹாமண்டலே-

5 ஸ்வரந் [4]தெவெநகராதிபந் ... ஆரியராயிரத-

6 ளவிபாடன் பாஷைக்குத்தப்புவராயிரகண்டன் கண்டநாடும் கொண்டு கெ-

7 ாண்டநாடு கொடாதான் பாண்டிமண்டலஸ்தாபநாசாரியந் சோழம-

8 ண்டலப்ரதிஷ்டாபநாசாரியந் தொண்டமண்டலசண்டப்ரசண்டந் இளமுங்கொங்-

9 குபாழ்ப்பாணதேசமும் எம்மண்டலமு[ம்*] [5]மஜவெட்டை கொண்டரு-

10 ளிய ராஜாதிராஜந் ராஜபரமேஸ்வரந் ராஜமார்த்தாண்டந் ராஜகம்பீ-

11 ரந் [6]ராஜகுலதிலகந் இரவிகுலசேகரந் சொரிமுத்துவன்னியந்[7] அந்-
தம்-

12 பிறகண்டன்[8] சாடிக்காறர்கண்டந் ஸாமித்துரோகியர்மிண்டன் துஷ்டரில்
துஷ்டந்

13 துஷ்டர்கொட்டமடக்கி இளஞ்சிங்கந் தளஞ்சிங்கம் பகைமன்னர்சிங்க
மாத்துப்-

14 பாச்சி கடலிற்பாச்சி மதப்புலியடைக்கலங்காத்தான் தாலிக்குவெலி [9]சத்-

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1 வெற்றிவாழ்கின்ற திருமிழலைக்கூற்ற மிகுந்த முத்தூர்க்கூற்றம்
பத்தியான அரும்பூர்க்கூற்றம் பாரமான திருக்கானைக்கூற்றம்
முத்தமிழ்சேர் தொகுவூர்க்கூற்றம் முதன்மையான கொடுமுளூர்க்கூற்றம்
எத்திசையான இளையான்குடிக்கூற்றம்— *Sendamiḻ*, Vol. XIII, p. 163.

2. Registered as No. 1 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1098 M. E.

3. The name of the *karaṇa* (astrological division of the day) is *Gara* (elephant)-*karaṇa*.

4. Read தேவைநகராதிபந், the lord of Tēvai-nagaram *i. e.*, Rāmanāthapuram (according to the Dictionaries); but Tēvai has been correctly identified with Rāmēśvaram itself in a Tamil poem called the '*Tēvai-ulā*' of Palapaṭṭaḍai-Śokkanāthappulavar, verses 226 and 248.

5. Read எம்மண்டலமும் கொண்டு மஜவெட்டை கண்டருளிய.

6. Read ராஜகுலதிலக.

7. வணங்காத தெவ்வைப் பொருமால் சொரிமுத்து வன்னியன் பொன்
னணங்காரு மார்பன் ரகுநாதன்— *Oruturaikkōvai*, verse 90.

8. கடக்தோய்மதகளிறன்னனந்தம்பரகண்டன் முத்து
வடக்தோய்தனத்தியர் வேள் ரகுநாதன்—*ibid*, v. 120.

9. Read அஶ்வாதிபதி.

15 திராதியுள்மிண்டன் வன்னியராட்டயந்தவிள்த்தான் தொண்டியந்துறை காவலநு

16 துரகரேவந்தநு[1] ஹநுமகேதனன் [2]மகரகேதனன் விஹகேதனன் கொட்டைக்கு

17 கற்றநு பொறுமைக்குயுதிஷ்டிரநு மல்லுக்குபீமநு வில்லுக்குவிஜயநு பரிக்கு நகுலநு அ-

வ ஸ்ரீராமநாதஸ்வாமிஸஹாயம்[3]

18 றிவுக்குஅகத்தியன் ஸத்யஹரிச்சந்திரநு விரவெண்பாமாலை உம்பயஅரம்-ப[நு*] உல்லாசசல்-

19 லாபசங்கீதஸாயுத்யவித்யாவிநோதநு[4] திலதநுதல்மடமாதர் மடலெழுதவ-

20 ருஸந்தவநு விஜயலக்ஷ்மிகாந்தநு ஸமஸ்தாவனைமாதநு அடியார்வேளைக்காறன்

21 வீரதண்டைசெமத்தலை[5] விளங்கு மிருதாளினன் துஷ்டநிக்ரஹ[6]சிஷ்டபரி-பாலநந-

22 நு துலுக்கர்தளவிபாடன் துலுக்கர்மோஹந்தவிள்த்தான் ஒட்டியர்தள-

23 விபாடநு ஒட்டியர்மோஹந்தவிள்த்தான் பரதளவிபாடன் மலைகலங்கிலும-

24 னங்கலங்காதான் சுன்னசத்திரவெர்மன் ஹமஹொாகதவெருநு ஷிவவம்-ஜாயந-

25 மநுமநு அநேகப்ரஹ்மப்ரதிஷ்டாவகாரன் செம்பிவளநாடன் [7]செங்காவிக்கு-

26 டையு மதின்மேல் விருதுவெண்கவரிபெற்றவன் ஸகலஸாம்ராஜ்யலக்ஷ்-நிவ-

27 ாஸநு ராமநாதஸ்வாமிகார்யதுரந்தரநான [8]தொகவூர்க்கூத்தத்தில் காத்து-ரான

28 குலொத்துங்கசொழநல்லூ[ர்*] கிள்பால் விரையாத்கண்டனில் விளங்-கிய து-

29 லாபுருஷதாநாதிஷோடஸமஹாதாநயநமநமநான ஹிரண்யகர்பயாஜி ரவி-

30 குலசெகர ரவ நாதச்செதுபதி கர்த்தவைவர்கள் வம்செபானர் கநான

31 -ா- முத்துராமலிங்க விஜயரெகுநாதச்செதுபதி கர்த்தவைவர்கள் தரு-

32 வாலைவமு[வ*]டாந ஆயிநத்தில் ஸ்ரீவத்ஸநாஹாஸ வஙுவாமு மாதவ உ-

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1. Rēvanta, the son of Sūrya and Baḍavāgni, was born riding on a white horse:

vide., तृतीयश्च रेवन्तोऽश्वप्रवाहकः

रेतसोऽन्ते च रेवन्तः खड्गी धन्वी तनुत्रधृक् ।
अश्वारूढः समुत्पन्नो बाणतूणी समान्वतः ॥

2. சருட்கேதனன்வாய் ரகுநாயகன் — *Oruturaikkōvai*, verse 39.

3. The sign-manual of the Ramnad chiefs is engraved in Telugu in the middle of the plate, as Telugu was adopted as the court-language by Vijayaraghunātha-Tirumalai-Sētupati — *Sen-damil*, Vol. VI, p. 45.

4. Read ஸாஹித்ய.

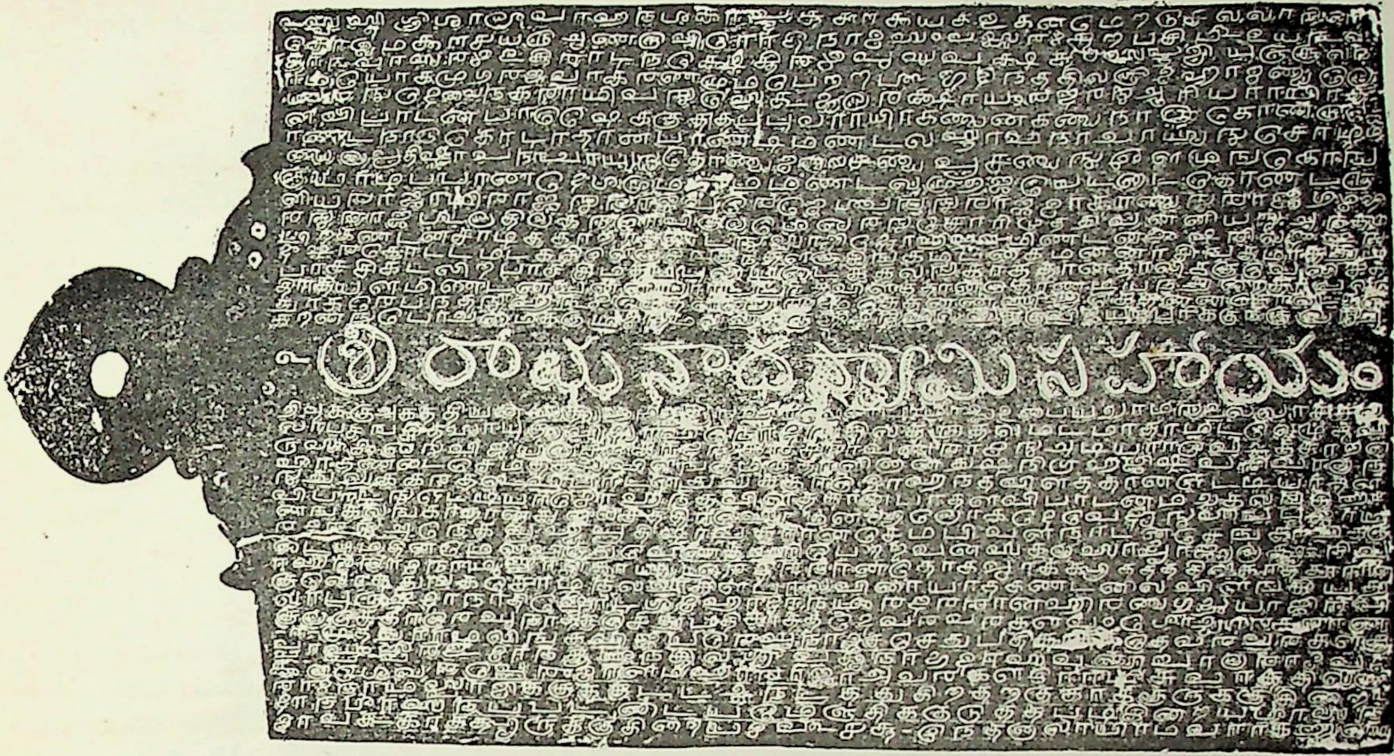
5. செமத்தலை was the name of the anklet worn by Ramnad chiefs.

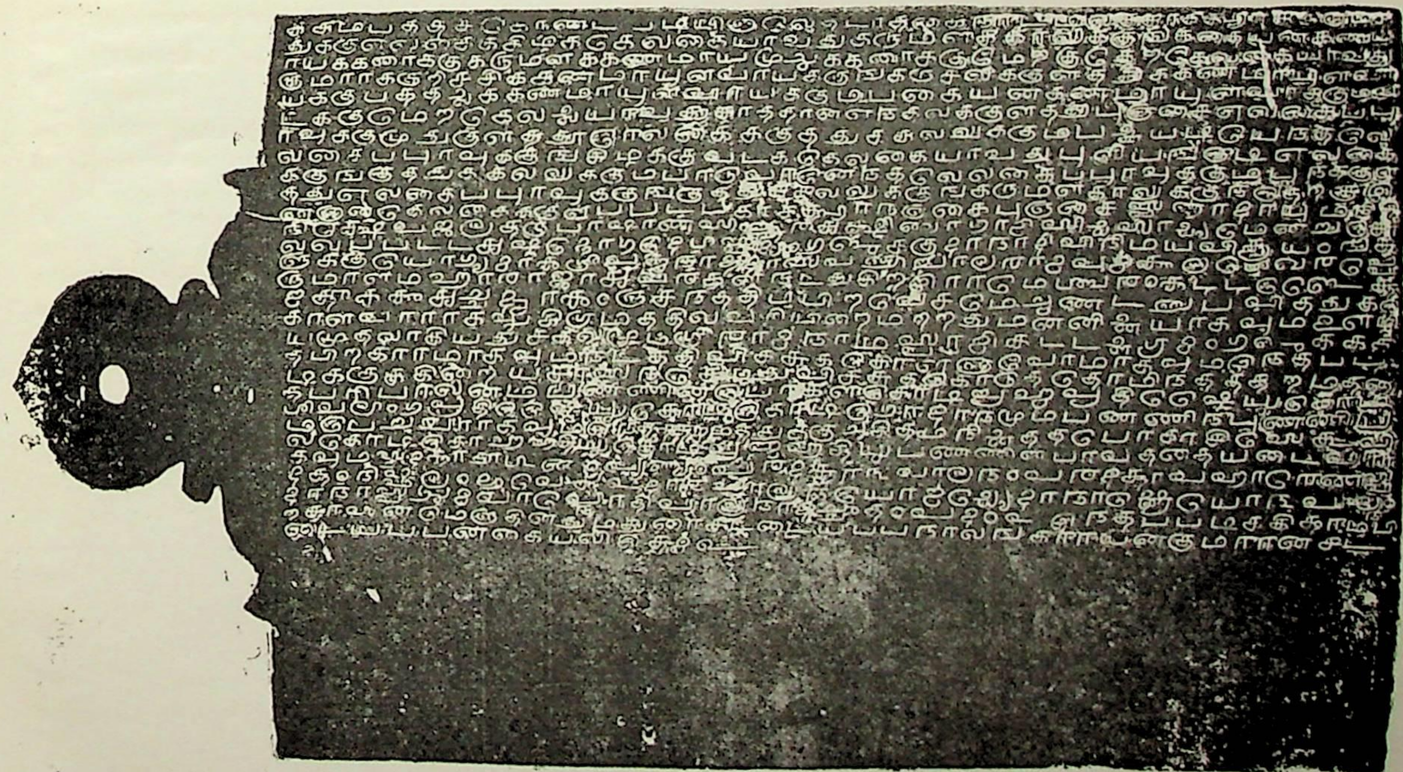
6. Read சிஷ்டபரிபாலநநு.

7. A parasol dyed in red ochre was the state umbrella of Sētupatis:

காவிச்செழுங்குடையான் ரகுநாயகன் and செங்காவியங்குடையான் ரகுநாதன்—*Oruturaikkōvai*.

8. குலங்கைக்கொண்ட விராமேசர் தான்முடி குடி and ஆரியர் போற்று விராமேசர் தாளிணைக் க-ன்புவைத்த.........ரகுநாதன் – *ibid*. verses 2 and 69.





Scale: One-half.

A. S. Ramanatha Ayyar.

33 குமாரமுத்து விஜயரெகுநாதன் மஹாராஜா அவர்கள் இராமீசுவரத்தில் ஸ்ரீ-
34 ராமநாதஸ்வாமிக்குக் கட்டளை நடத்துகிறதற்கு காக்கூருக்கு கிறைய-
35 தாம்ரசாஸநப்பட்டைய மெழுதிக் குடுத்தபடி கிறையஸாதந-
36 மாவது [।*] காக்கூருக்கு கிறையம் ௨௦ சரு— இந்த ஞலாயிரம் வாராகனும்
 ரொ-

Second side.

37 க்கம் பத்திக்கொண்டபடியினாலெ தடாதகைநாட்டில்க் காக்கூர்க் கிறுமத்-
38 துக்கு எல்கைக் கிழக்கெல்கையாவது கருமளக்காலுக்குங் கதையன்கண்ம-
39 ாய்க் கரைக்கு[ம்*] கருமளக்கண்மாய் மூலைக்கரைக்கு[[ம்*] மெற்கு தெற்-
 கெல்கையாவது
40 குமாரக்குறிச்சிக்கண்மா யுள்வாய்க்குங் கருசல்க்குளத்துக்கண்மா யுள்வா-
41 ய்க்கு[ம்*] பத்தலைக்கண்மா யுள்வாய்க்கும் பகையன்கண்மா யுள்வா[ய்*]-
 க்கும் வ-
42 டக்கு மெற்கெல்லையாவது காத்தான் எந்தல்க்குளத்து புஞ்சை எல்-
 கைப் பு-
43 ரவுக்கு[ம்*] முதுகுளத்தூ ரெல்கைக் குத்துக்கல்லுக்கும் பனையடி யெந்த-
 லெ-
44 ல்கைப் புரவுக்குங் கிழக்கு வடக்கெல்லையாவது புளியங்குடி எல்கை-
45 க்குங் குத்துக்கல்லுக்கும் பாடுவானெந்த லெல்கைப் புரவுக்கும் பூந்தகுள-
46 த்து எல்கைப் புரவுக்குங் குத்துக்கல்லுக்குங் கருமளகாலுக்குந் தெற்கு இ-
47 ன்னான்கெல்லைக் குள்ப்பட்ட காக்கூர் நஞ்சை புஞ்சை ஸ்வாம்யமும் நிதி-
48 நிக்ஷேப ஜல தரு பாஷாண அக்ஷிணி ஆகாமி ஸித்த ஸாத்யமென்று சொ-
49 ல்லப்பட்ட அஷ்டபோக தேஜஸ்ஸ்வாம்யங்களுக்கு தாநாதி விநிமய விக்ரயங்க-
50 ளுக்கு யோக்யமாக ஸ்ரீவத்ஸநாதஹஸ்தாஸ வஹ்நி ஸோமஸூர்யவம்ச குமாரமுத்துவ-
 வெ-
51 ருமாள் மஹாராஜாவவர்கள் நடத்துகிற இராமேஸ்வரம் கட்டளைத் த-
52 ர்த்தர்க்கு ஆசந்த்ரார்க்க(ம)ஞ் சந்ததிப்பிறவேசமே ஆண்டனுபவித்துக் கொ-
53 காள்வாராகவும் [।*] கிறுமத்தில் வரியிறை மற்றதும் [3]மன்னினையாகவும்
 ஊழி-
54 ய முதலாகியது சகலமும் ஸ்ரீராமநாதஸ்வாமி கட்டளை க்ரமங்களுக்கொத்[4]-
55 த பிறகாரமாகவும் நடத்திவிச்சுக் கொள்ளுவோமாகவும் [।*] இந்தப்ப-
56 டிக்குக் கிறையசாஸந[ஞ்*] செய்துவிச்சுக் கொடுத்தோமிந்தத் தற்மத்தை-
57 த பரிபாலனம் பண்ணின பேர்கள் கோடி ப்ராஹ்மப்ரதிஷ்டையும் கோடி-
58 சிவலிங்கப்ரதிஷ்டையும் கோடி கோடி கோதாநமும் பண்ணின புண்ணிய-
59 ம் பெறுவராகவும் [।*] இந்த தற்மத்துக்கு அகிதம் நினைத்தபேர் காசி-
 ஸேதுவி-
60 ல் கோடி கோஹ(ஹ)த்தியும் கோடி ப்ராஹ்மஹத்தியும் பண்ணின பாவத்
 தை யடைவரா-

3. Read மன்னிறை°.
4. Read க்ரமங்களுக்கொத்த°

61 கவும் [1*] [illegible][1] [illegible]

62 [illegible][2] [illegible][3] [illegible]

63 [4][illegible][5] [illegible] உ இந்தப்படிக்குத் தா-ம்பி-

64 ரசாஸன மெழுதினது மதுரை சட்டையப்ப நாலங்காரயன் குமாரன் சட்-

65 டையப்பன் கைய்லிகிதழ உ

Translation.

Hail! Prosperity! On the 23rd (day) of Aṟpaśi in the year Virōdhi corresponding to (the) Kollam (year) 945 (which was) current after the Śaka year 1691 had expired, and which was a Sunday, the eleventh *tithi* of the first fortnight with nakshatra Uttirāḍam, śūlanāma-yōgam and garaja-karaṇam, śrī-Mahāmaṇḍalēśvaran, the lord of the city of Tēvai, the guardian of the Sētu, the destroyer of the armies of enemy kings (or Āryas), the punisher of those kings who transgress his words, he who seizes the countries seen but never lets go the captured territories, the establisher of the Pāṇḍya kingdom, the establisher of the Chōḷa dominions, the all-powerful in the Toṇḍai-maṇḍalam, the (conqueror) of Īḻam, Koṅgu, Yāḻppāṇam and all (other) kingdoms, (he) who instituted the elephant hunt, the chief of kings, the supreme lord of kings, the sun among kings, the noblest among kings, the ornament of the race of kings, the crest-jewel of the solar race, the *vanniya* of abundant pearls,..................... the destroyer of tale-bearers, the punisher of rebels of *svāmi* (his Pāṇḍya master), the wicked among wicked men, the curber of the mischief of wicked men, the lion-cub,[6] the lion of the army, the lion to enemy kings, he who pushed (his army) on rivers and on the sea, he who gave asylum to the ferocious tiger, the protector of the (Queen's) marriage-badge, the punisher of parasolled kings, the stopper of the swagger of the *vanniyas*, the warden of the Toṇḍi-harbour, a Rēvanta in horsemanship, the monkey-bannered, the Garuḍa-bannered, the lion-bannered, a Karṇa in charity, a Dharma in patience (forgiveness), a Bhīma in wrestling, a Vijaya[7] (Arjuna) in archery, a Nakula in horse-craft, an Agastya in erudition, a Hariśchandra in truthfulness, the possessor of a heroic panegyric[8] and a brace of fly-whisks, an adept in the arts of pleasant talk, music and composition, he of the lovely face about whom artless maidens with vermilion-marked foreheads desire to compose (the work

1. Read [illegible].
2. Read °[illegible].
3. Read °[illegible].
4. Read [illegible].
5. Read °[illegible].
6. வெருண்டெழுந்த கல்விளங்கேசரி தேவையர்கோன் ரகுநாதன்—*Oruturaikkōvai*, v. 31.
7. அடைக்கலங்காத்தவன் செஞ்சிலைக்கேவிசையன் ரகுநாயகன்—*ibid.*, v. 92.
8. *Vīravenbāmālaiyan* was also the title of the Pāṇḍya king Ativiraṟāma of A. D. 1562 (*Trav. Archl. Series*, Vol. I. p. 274.

called)[1] *maḍal*, the lover of the goddess of victory, the Rāma to the Rāvaṇas of (enemy) kings, a *vēḷaikkāraṉ*[2] to devotees, he on whose two feet shine the heroic anklet and the *śēmattalai*, the chastiser of the wicked and the protector of the righteous, the breaker of the army of Muhammadans and the destroyer of their pride, the breaker of the army of Oḍḍiyar and the destroyer of their pride, the breaker of the armies of enemies, he whose mind is not perturbed even if mountains (themselves) are disturbed, the moon to feeding-houses, the Dēvēndra of the earth, the upholder of Śiva's worship, the founder of many temples, the owner of the Chōḷa dominions, the possessor of a red-ochre coloured parasol, *virudu*, and a white fly-whisk, the abode of the goddess of all prosperity, the supervisor of the affairs of god Rāmanātha, the upholder of the race of Hiraṇyagabhayāji Raghunātha-Sētupati Karttadēvaravargaḷ, who had performed the sixteen great gifts beginning with the Tulāpurushadāna, the crest-jewel of the Solar race and he that was seated resplendent in (the place called) Viraiyādagaṇḍan in the eastern portion of Kākkūr *alias* Kulōttuṅgaśōḷa-nallur (a village) in Togavūr-kūṟṟam — Muttu-Rāmaliṅga Vijayaraghunātha-Sētupati Karttadēvaravārgaḷ— gave in writing to Śrīpadmanābhadāsa Vañchi[3] Bālarāmavarma-Kulaśēkharapperumāḷ Mahārāja of the *ādhīnam* of Tiruppāppūr-svarūpam the (following) sale-deed for the sale of (the village of) Kākkūr for conducting a service (*kaṭṭaḷai*) to god śrī-Rāmanāthasvāmin at Rāmēśvaram.

As 4000 *varāhaṉ*, (in words) four thousand *varāhaṉ*, have been received in cash as the price of Kākkūr, the boundaries of Kākkūr in Taṭātakai-nāḍu are:—

the eastern boundry (is) to the west of the Karumaḷakkāl, the bund of Gadaiyan-kaṇmāy, and the corner bund of Karumaḷa-kaṇmāy;

the southern boundary (is) to the north of the sluices of Kumārakkurichchi-kaṇmāy, Karuśalkuḷa-kaṇmāy, Pattalai-kaṇmāy and Pagaiyaṉ-kaṇmay;

the western boundary (is) to the east of the dry lands near Kāttāṉ-ēndalkuḷam, the boundary stone of Mudukuḷattūr, and the boundary land of Paṉaiyaḍi-yēndal; and

the northern boundary (is) to the south of the boundary of Puḷiyaṅguḍi and its set-up stone, the boundary of Pāḍuvān-ēndal, the boundary of Pūndakkuḷam and its set-up stone and the Karumaḷakkāl.

Kākkūr (situated) within these four boundaries shall be enjoyed, together with its wet and dry lands, its perquisites in cash, its eight privileges such as treasure-troves, deposits, water, timber, stones, ore, *akshiṇī* and *āgāmi*, the accomplished and the accomplishable, which were all made eligible to (be disposed of in) gifts, barter, or sale, by Śrīpadmanābhadāsa Vañchi[3] Bālarāmavarma-Kulaśēkharapperumāḷ Mahārāja for the conduct of the service in Rāmēśvaram, as long as the moon and sun (exist) and in his line of succession.

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1. A variety of composition, *vide.*,

— மன்று
விடவண்ணைக்கண்டத் துவேதியன்மேலிட்ட
மடல்வண்ணம் பாடும் பொழுதின்று — *Tirukkailā ñāna-ulā.*

Pannirupāṭṭiyal defines *Maḍal* in verses 244 to 247: Tirumaṅgai-āḻvār is the author of similar compositions called the *Periyatirumaḍal* and the *Siriyatirumaḍal*.

Maḍalurdal is the crowing act of dogged audacity which a disappointed lover indulges in to evoke compassion from the other party-*viz*, that of riding on a horse made of palmyra pricks!

2. On *Vēḷaikkārar* and their significance, *vide.*,
3. See page 10 above regarding the king's name which may be taken as Vañchipāla Rāmavarma-Kulaśēkhara.

with a *double entendre*, that after Mārttāṇḍa (the king: the sun) had set, Rājā (king Rāmavarman: the moon) ascended the Udayagiri (Udayagiri hill near Padmanābhapuram: the eastern hill). One item of new information furnished by this book is that Rāmavarman was the son of a queen called Pārvatī;[1] and it follows therefore that the princess of the Kolattunāḍ family who was adopted by Uṇṇi-Kēraḷavarman in Kollam 893[2] (A. D. 1718) had this name or got it on adoption, Lakshmī and Pārvatī being alternately the names borne by the Ranis of Travancore. Rāmavarman may have had more than two brothers for they are referred to in the plural number as *sagarbhyāḥ*[3] and are cited as types of *Dhīralalita* heroes spending away their time in their mansions in amorous dalliance; but we know of only one Ravivarman,[4] who was present at the time of Rāmavarman's dedication of the State to god Padmanābha. The munificience[5] and charitable disposition,

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(*c*) सन्तु प्रजा विहितधर्मपरास्समृद्धाः
आचन्द्रतारमवनौ जयतु क्षितीन्द्रः ।
श्रीपद्मनाभशरणागतवञ्चिवा(पा)ल-
श्रीरामवर्मकुलशेखरसार्वभौमः ॥

1. (*a*) पार्वत्यास्सुकृतोदयेनजगतीं क्षेमाय सद्वृद्धये
दुष्टानामिह शिक्षणाय सपुनः स्कन्दस्सुरैः प्रार्थितः ।
भूत्वा वञ्चिधराधिपः प्रथितया शक्तया रिपून् शिक्षयन्
सुब्रह्मण्यपदं व्यनक्ति भुवने श्रीरामवर्मानृपः ॥

(*b*) पार्वतीनन्दनस्सोयं वञ्चीन्द्रः स्कन्द एव यत् ।
शक्तया विनिहितामित्रः सुब्रह्मण्यो विराजते ॥

(*c*) योयं मुक्तामणिर्जातः पार्वतीगर्भशुक्तितः ।
सद्वृत्तो गुणवान् स्वच्छः स्निग्धस्सोयं विराजते ॥

2. *Trav. State Manual*, Vol. I, page 324.

3. सौधाग्रोदितरत्नदीपकलिकाव्याजार्कबिम्बोदय-
व्याक्षिप्तेन्दुभयप्रदानचतुरस्वीयास्यचन्द्रोदयैः ।
गायद्भिर्निजयौवतैः प्रतिनिशं सक्तास्सगर्भ्यानृपा
वञ्चिक्षोणिपतेर्निरन्तरयशस्संप्रार्थयन्ते मुदा ॥

4. तदनुज रविवर्मा भागिनेयस्त्वनामा
स्वयमपि स तु वञ्चिक्ष्मापतिश्चैकभावः ।
सकलभुवनभारं पद्मनाभाय दत्वा
मनुपतिकुलभूपे स्वामिभृत्यस्वभावः ॥—*Bālarāmabharatam* (*T. A. S.* IV. 110).

5. विद्वद्द्विजानपि निरङ्कुशवर्तिनस्त्वै-
रुद्ग्वागुणैः कनकशृङ्खलिकानुबन्धान् ।
कृत्वावसि प्रतिपदं ननु वञ्चिपा(पा)ल-
श्रीरामवर्मकुलशेखरसार्वभौम ॥

prowess,[1] literary accomplishments[2] and other incomparable[3] qualities of this sovereign have the contemporary testimony of the author in some of the verses occurring in the work and these attributes go to justify the names of *Dharma-rāja* by which he was lovingly remembered by his subjects and to confirm the ideal picture drawn of him in the pages of the *Travancore State Manual*[4] and in the *Archæological Series,* Vol. IV. It is a pity that no reference has however been made in the work to any of the stirring political events of those times, as probably it was composed early in the king's reign.

The plot of the model drama called the *Vasulakshmī-kalyāṇam* inserted in the *Nāṭaka-prakaraṇa* or the third chapter of the book is as follows:—

The king of distant Sindhu had a daughter named Vasulakshmī and had set his heart on marrying her to the king of Travancore, Rāmavarma-Kulaśēkhara, whose accomplishments were much noised abroad. But the queen who had another bridegroom in view in the person of her nephew, the prince of Siṁhaḷa, started her daughter on a voyage ostensibly with the intention of visiting a famous temple while the proposed destination was in reality Ceylon. Providence, however, upset

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1. त्रैलोक्यप्रथमानभास्करकुलक्षीराब्धिराका शशी
   प्रत्यर्थिक्षितिपालमौलिमणिभिर्नीराजिताङ्घ्रिर्मुहुः ।
   दिक्कान्ताकुचकुम्भचन्दनरसोन्मीलद्यशोमण्डलः
   राज्यश्रीसमलंकृतो विजयते श्रीरामवर्मा नृपः ॥

2. यदृच्छासल्लापैस्समधिगतषट्तन्त्रविभवै-
   श्चमत्कुर्वन् धीरान् सदसि रसभावप्रकटनैः ।
   कवीन्धिन्वन् गानक्रमविवरणाद्गायकवरान्
   परिष्कुर्वन्वञ्चिक्षितिपातिलकोऽयं विजयते ॥

3. स एव देवो भुवनेब्जनाभः स एव देशस्तदुपाहितार्धिः ।
   सानन्दपुर्येव पुरी स वञ्चिक्षितीश एव क्षितिपालको हि ॥

4. *Trav. State Manual*, Vol. I, p. 407 *et. seq.*

   In this connection the tribute of praise tendered to the king by his nephew Rāmavarman (Aśvati-tirunāḷ) in his *Rukmiṇīpariṇayam* is worth noting.

   अस्ति निखिलखलहृदयनिचङ्घन्यमानशोकशल्यस्य शल्यस्येव धर्मजातबद्धचेतसः प्रचेतस इव पार्श्वपरिभ्राजमानवाहिनीसहस्रस्य सहस्रदीधितेरिवोन्मुखपद्माकरगृहीतपादपल्लवस्य वैनतेयस्येव भृशमहितापदानवतः कार्तिकेयस्येवाप्रतिहतशक्तेराखण्डलस्येव प्रकटितशतकोटिदानविस्मयस्य विशङ्कटभुजविटपिविहरमाणविश्वंभराशारीकस्य हरिचरणपरिचरणधुरीणधिषणस्य सकलपरिपन्थिमण्डलालयविश्रान्तचापकर्मणोऽपि सकलदिगन्तश्रूयमाणगुरुगुणध्वनेः पार्थिवप्रधानस्यापि गुणमयस्य राज्ञः **श्रीपद्मनाभदासवञ्चिपालकुलशेखररामवर्मणो** भागिनेयेन रामवर्मनामधेयेन etc.

the queen's calculations and the royal barge was stranded on that part of the Travancore shore which was in the jurisdiction of the frontier-captain (*antardurga-pāla*) Vasumadrāja, the brother of the king's consort, Vasumatī. The ship-wrecked princess was then sent by this captain to his sister at the capital where her beauty at once captivated the pliable heart of king Rāmavarman, the hero of the drama. The usual love intrigue culminates in a clandestine meeting of the lovers in the Palace garden and the jealous senior then attempts to dispose of her rival by marriage to her cousin, the Pāṇḍya king. But this scheme is frustrated by the king and his accomplice, the inevitable Vidūshaka, who in the disguise of the Pāṇḍya king and his friend receive the bride. In the meantime, the Sindhu-rāja learns of the whereabouts of his missing daughter through Nītisāgara, the Travancore minister, and coming to Travancore with a large escort confirms the betrothal of king Rāmavarman with Vasulakshmī, which happily coincides with his own inclinations.

This, in short, is a summary of the five-act drama purged of all the extraneous matter that had of necessity to be introduced to illustrate the several rules and definitions of dramaturgy and the long-drawn love scenes dictated by the conventional canons of literary tradition. It is not known if there is any inner significance underlying the story of Vasulakshmī's parentage in far-off Sindhu, her ship-wreck on the Travancore shores *enroute* Ceylon, and her marriage with Rāmavarman to the discomfiture of the two other rivals in the field, the princes respectively of Simhaḷa and Pāṇḍya. In the present state of our ignorance about the royal household[3] of king Rāmavarman, we can only say that this love episode is a mere creation of the poet's imagination and the combined result of an anxiety on his part to flatter his patron and to compose a work in the accepted style in conformity with the orthodox literary rules. The names given by the author for the important *dramatis personae* are very misleading and except the name of the king there is none other answering, so far as we know, to those of contemporary historical personages. The minister bears the professionally significant name of Nītisāgara, while the coast-captain is a Vasumadrāja, his sister is a Vasumatī, and the Sindhu princess is a Vasulākshmī, all these three names being derived from the word '*vasu*' (=wealth). The suggestion therefore offers itself as to whether the author wanted to glorify in allegory some of the king's and his uncle's conquests[1] and annexations near by though not in far-off Sindh or whether a merchantman loaded with cargo from Sindh and bound for Ceylon, which was perhaps stranded on the Travancore shores owing to the inclemencies of the weather was overhauled as prize by the Travancore coasting garrison and sent as salvage to the king at his capital.[2]

There is again in the same Library an extremely ill-copied manuscript of another five-act drama called by the same title of *Vasulakshmī-kalyāṇam* which is stated to have been composed in the year Viśvāvasu, without any indication, being given of its equivalent in the Śaka or the Kollam era; but as Kollam 960 (A. D. 1785) the twenty-sixth year of reign of Rāmavarman was also the cyclic year

1. *Trav State Manual*, Vol. I, pp. 333 *et. seq.*
2. There is, however, no incident of this kind mentioned in the *Manual*.
3. One modern Malayalam book mentions that the King had four successive consorts.

Viśvāvasu, that year may be taken to be its date of composition. Its hero is the same illustrious king of Travancore[1] and its author who is quite different from Sadāśiva, the composer of the other drama inserted into the *Yaśōbhūshaṇam*, is a certain Veṅkaṭasubrahmaṇyādhvarin[2] of the famous family of Appayya-Dīkshita (1553-1626) of Aḍaiyyappalam.

The plot of this drama, though similar in all essential particulars to that of the model drama noticed above, has been amplified in some details; but it is also unfortunately devoid of any special historical references except that the marriage of the princess of Sindh with Rāmavarman is stated to have been a diplomatic alliance calculated to raise him to the status of a *sārvabhauma*[3] through the augmented

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1 तदामुष्यायणस्यास्य प्रबन्धे विशिष्य पुण्यमहाराज**रामवर्मकुलशेखर**चरितानुबन्धो कुतो नमे भूयानादराति शयः स्यात् ।

2 अप्पय्याध्वरिसुतेष्व(षु)चरम श्री[नील*]कण्ठाध्वरी
तत्पुत्रेषु दशाधिकेष्वपि तृतीयस्सिह्मप्पाध्वरी ।
तस्माच्चापि भवानीशङ्करमखी ज्येष्ठो गुणैराबभूत्
तस्यैकोऽजनि वेङ्कटेश्वरमखी यस्याद्यसूनुः कविः ॥

विद्वत्कुलगुर्वप्पय्यमखिनां वंशो महोन्नतो जीयात् ।
वेङ्कटसुब्रह्मण्याध्वरिकविविद्वन्मणिर्यतोह्युदभूत् ॥

इत एवाधीतनिगमादिसर्वविद्यः दिगन्तविदितनिजवैखरीविभववित्रासितविमतवादिगजकेसरी वटारण्येश्वरवाज- पेययाजीत्यभिज्ञायते ।

The genealogy works out as follows:

Appayya-Dīkshita of Aḍaiyappalam.
- Other sons.
- Śrikanṭhādhvarin (last son).
  - 1
  - 2
  - 3 Simhamappādhvarin (Chinnappādhvarin?)
    - Bhavānīśaṅkara-Makhin.
      - Veṅkaṭēśvara-Makhin. (eldest-son).
        - Venkaṭasubrahmaṇyādhvarin (Author of *Vasulakshmīkalyāṇam*)
        - Vaṭāraṇyēśvara-Vājapēyayājin.
  - (more than 7 sons).

The two names Śrikanṭha and Simhamappa seem to be incorrectly copied in the manuscript, for another copy of the same work available at Karatholuvu in the Coimbatore District reads Nīlakanṭha and Chinnappādhvarin respectively. Compare also the following sentence occurring in the same drama:—

अस्य कवेः पूर्विकाः श्रीमदप्पय्याध्वरितनुच्छन्नस्य भगवतश्चन्द्रमौलेरंशभूताः **नीलकण्ठमखिचिन्नप्पय्या- ध्वरिवेङ्कटेश्वरमखिप्रभाकरदीक्षित** प्रभृतयः षड्दर्शनीवल्लभाऽपि **नळचरितोमापरिणयोषाह- रणहरिश्चन्द्रानन्द**प्रभृतिरपारिमितैर्नाटिकादिप्रबन्धैरुपक्रमादेव etc.

3 परीक्ष्य लक्षणज्ञाता दैवज्ञानां मुखात्स्वयं ।
निश्चैषीद्विवोढुस्तां सार्वभौमत्वलम्भिकाम् ॥

friendship of the Hūṇarāja, (the Hon'ble East India Company?). There is no reference at all to the attempted invasion of Hyder Ali (A. D. 1769) or to the anxious political outlook of the country with the incubus of an impending foreign invasion looming to the north of the Travancore Lines, or even to the Mahārāja's grand pilgrimage to Rāmēśvaram which was undertaken in A. D. 1784,[1] just a year previous to the probable date of composition of the drama. Instead, the author has given the usual conventional setting to the whole plot which makes it difficult to discover whether, if at all, any allegorical significance has to be read between the lines. With the exception of king Rāmavarman, the hero, all the other important characters of the drama are give fictitious names coined from the same Sanskrit word *'vasu'*, as can be seen from the appended list.

Buddhisāgara-minister, *Vasusēna*-Commander, *Vasumatī*, consort of the Mahārāja, *Vasumān*- consort's brother and frontier-captain, *Vasuvarman*- Chēra prince, *Vasunidhi*-Sindhurāja, *Vasurāśi*—his son and *Vasulakshmī*— Sindhu princess.

The story of this drama is briefly as follows:—

The minister Buddhisāgara who has seen the portrait of Vasulakshmī, the Sindhu princess, is anxious that the king of Travancore should marry her, so that the latter's political influence may extend northwards and his friendship with the Hūṇarāja may also be strengthened. When news is received that the Sindhu princess is voyaging to Ceylon, the minister manages to waylay this ship in the Travancore waters with the active cooperation of the Hūṇa fleet, and Vasumān, the officer in command of the sea-coast who was also the brother of the Travancore king's consort, sends the captive-princess to the royal Palace. There the king falls in love with her and manages to meet her in the royal pleasure gardens to the intense chagrin of Vasumati who tries to marry her rival to the Chēra prince Vasuvarman and thus remove the unwelcome competitor out of the way. This plot fails, as in the other drama, by the countermachinations of the king and his Vidūshaka who successfully personate the Chēra prince and his boon-companion. By the artful scheming of the minister coupled with the influence of her brother, Vasumatī is however, finally won over to consent to the marriage of Vasulakshmī with her own husband and the Sindhu prince Vasurāśi, instructed by Buddhisāgara comes posthaste from his country to celebrate his sister's marriage with the Travancore king. By this alliance, it is stated, the friendship of both the parties with the Hūṇarāja was strengthened and the influence of the Travancore king was visibly enhanced.

It will be seen from the above summary that the thread of the above story is the same as that of the other drama of the same name and that the difference is only in the names of the characters. The only new point here is the introduction of the Hūṇarāja as the third party in the alliance; but unluckily no definite clue for the identification of this foreigner is forthcoming in the drama. In all probability, however, the allusion may fitly be to the Hon'ble East India Company, which has been described[2] as, and was in actuality, a fast-rising power in the

1. *Trav. State Manual*, Vol. I, page 384.

2. तदनेन तीर्थेन हिमवत्पश्चिमानूपवासिनोऽपि भरतवर्षमात्राव्यापिनः हूणराजस्य चिरप्रवृत्तमपि सख्यं देवेन बहुळीभविष्यतीति मन्ये ।

political horizon of India, whose help and goodwill were much coveted and sought after by the Indian princes of that period. From the *Travancore State Manual*,[1] it is learnt that the port of Alleppey was opened out for commerce in the reign of this king Rāmavarman much to the detriment of the Dutch trade and that great facilities were afforded to certain wealthy merchants of Sindh and Cutch to colonise at that port so as to assure the commercial prosperity of the State. In the drama again Sindhurāja is mentioned as the friend of Rāmavarman's uncle,[2] Mārttāṇḍavarman, and although the province of Sindh is specifically mentioned as located in northern India with the country of Kachcha in its vicinity, one is led to think that the references in the drama are not to the northern provinces of Sindh and Cutch as such, but to some merchants of these countries who were carrying on a brisk trade along the West Coast down to Ceylon and whose settlement at the new port of Alleppey was the happy achievement of king Rāmavarman. When the Dutch trade was thus undermined, the Hon'ble East India Company which had only a few decades ago got a slippery footing at Anjengo and Viḷiñam was now enabled to have a more secure base of operations, both commercial and political in the West Coast, and with the establishment of good relations between the Travancore king and the northern merchant princes of Sindh and Cutch, it also slowly strengthened its influence and enlarged its sphere of activity further up in the north. This appears to be the only plausible interpretation of the story of *Vasulakshmī-kalyāṇam*, in the absence of other evidence to connote an actual marriage of the king with a Sindhu princess called Vasulakshmī.[3] Her name which literally means the 'Goddess of wealth' may aptly do duty for a personification of the anticipated commercial prosperity of the State consequent on the colonisation of the northern merchants, whose introduction into the country and the grant of special privileges to whom were, however, first viewed with disfavour and jealousy by the conservative merchants of the soil as represented by the legal consort, Vasumatī (the Earth), until their prejudice was tided over by proper arguments adduced by the able minister; while Vasumān, the *Vēladurgapāla* (the port-officer?), who was also convinced of the advantages that would accrue to the State by Vasulakshmī's marriage (increased commercial activity) heartily sided with the minister in his endeavours to win over Vasumatī's consent.

In the chapter on Śabdālaṅkāra in the *Rāmavarma-yaśōbhūshaṇam* have been given under the section of Chitrālaṅkāra a few verses composed in the more popular of the *bandhas*, such as the *nāga*, *chakra*, *ratha* and *ashṭadaḷapadma*, with diagrams showing the manner in which the syllables are to be arranged in them. These form an interesting study in themselves and show the flexibility with which the Sanskrit language was handled by the poets in the feats of verbal gymnastics practised by them as a leisure hour recreation. In this connection, it is interesting

1. *Trav. State Manual*, Vol. I, p. 372
2. अस्मन्मातुलबालमेत्रमसकृत्कर्णान्तरङ्गीकृत:
   योधीती धनुरागमेपु सहृतैः तुल्यश्च बाह्वोर्वले ।
   सिन्धोरुत्तरकच्छभूमिमवधीकृत्य हिमाद्रेः क्षितिं
   रक्षन्दिक्पतिसन्निभो वसुनिधिः ख्यातप्रभावः क्षितौ ॥
3. A modern work in prose on ധർമ്മരാജാവു states that the king had four consorts in succession, viz-, Kaḷiammai-Nāgamaṇi of Nagercoil and three others from Vadaśēri. Arumana and Tiruvaṭṭāṟu *ammaciḍus*.

to note that the diagram for the *Chakrabandha* given in the manuscript is the correct form drawn and filled in according to the instructions given in the commentary. It exhibits the name of the author and his work in a proper alignment in the concentric circles; whereas the diagram given in the Allahabad edition of the *Prataparudrīya* is incorrect in so far as the names of the author and his work are not so easily discernible or so symmetrically arranged. The Śaṅgam edition of *Māṟaṉalaṅkāram* also gives the correct diagram of a *shaḍārachakram* with the Tamil letters properly arranged.

No. 6.—Marttandavarman's Record of Kollam 925.

This record is found written in Tamil characters and in the Malayalam language on a leaf of cadjan preserved in the Vernacular Records Office at Trivandrum and from the statement that it is only a copy (*ediriḍa*), its original, which must necessarily have been engraved on copper considering the importance of the record, may perhaps be found stowed away in the archives of the Trivandrum temple among many other equally valuable and possibly earlier documents relating to that temple's administration. These, if made available for purposes of detailed examination, will help in the elucidation of many events appertaining to Travancore history.

In spite of its apparently recent date of Kollam 925, the importance of this document lies in the fact that it records an unique historical episode known as *Tiruppaḍi-dānam*,[1] wherein king Mārttāṇḍavarman is stated to have dedicated his whole kingdom to god Padmanābha, the tutelary deity of the Travancore Royal House, while he conducted the administration as the god's agent (*Bhaṇḍārakkāriyam-śeyvār*). That this *coup-d'-etat* was calculated to safeguard the solidarity of his newly acquired dominions from the counter reprisals of his whilom enemies, who dared not proceed against territories dedicated to and therefore belonging exclusively to god was not an innovation of this king, but that the idea that the Tiruvaḍi-rājya was god's country was current two centuries earlier even during the time of the invasion of Vēṇāḍu by the Vijayanagara king Achyutarāya has been dealt with at length in Volume IV of the *Series*. Mārttāṇḍavarman's successor Rāmavarman went through the same dedication ceremony in about Kollam 938-9.

The boundaries of the dominions which were thus disposed of are only vaguely given here *viz*., the fort of Tōvāḷa on the east and Kāvaṇāṟu in the west,; but the territory must have been big enough as Mārttāṇḍa, the Conqueror, had by the Kollam year 925 annexed or subdued many of the principalities with which

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1. *Trav. State Manual*, Vol. I, 362: Compare

പത്മനാഭസമർപ്പിതാഖിലധനഞ്ജനൻ ധരണീശ്വരൻ
പത്മനാഭപുരാഖ്യമാകിന സത്മമാശ്ശു ചമച്ചുടൻ
* * * * *
സകലഹരിപദഘടിതപട്ടമതിവഞ്ചിഭൂമിപുരന്ദരൻ

from *Pañchēndrōpakhyānam* of Kuñjan-Nambiyār,

and

എന്നാത്തു ധന്യൻ ധരണീന്ദ്രമൗലി
കുനിച്ചിട്ടും ഭക്തിയോടമ്പലത്തിൽ
ചെന്നബ്ജനാഭന്റെ പാദാംബുജത്തിൽ
തന്നാൽ സമർപ്പിച്ചിതു തന്റെ നാടും.

ഭൂപപ്രവീരൻ കരവാളമാകും
ശ്രീപത്മനാഭന്റെ നടയ്ക്കലായി
സർവ്വസ്വദാനത്തിൻ ലക്ഷ്യമായ്-
ഗ്ഗൂർവ്വും വെടിഞ്ഞിട്ടുടവാളു വെച്ചു.

from a modern poem *Mārttāṇḍadēvōdayam*.

southern Kēraḷa was dotted: Āttuṅgal, Quilon, Kāyaṅguḷam and Koṭṭārakkara, Ambalappuḷa and the chieftaincies of Tekkuṅkūr and Vaḍakkuṅkūr.

Text.[1]

First side.

1 ௳ ஸ்ரீராம[2]செயம் [॥*]

2 திர்ப்பாப்பூர் கீழப்பெரூர் ஸ்ரீ வீரவால[3]மார்த்தாண்டவர்ம்மராய திர்-
ப்பாப்பூர் மூத்ததிருவடி இருந்நருளியெடத்திங்கல்ந் நிந்நும் கல்ப்பி-
ச்சு பெருமாள் ஸ்ரீபண்டாரத்திலக்கு இராச்சியம் எழுதிவச்ச சிறுவ-
சூவார்ப்பண[4] ஓலக்கு எழுதின எதிரட [॥*]

3 ௯௱௨௰௫ ௵ தைமீ ௫௳

4 விர்ச்சிக சனி மீனவியாழம் செந்ந கொல்லம் தொள்ளாயிரத்து இருபத்த-
ய்யாமாண்ட மகாமாதம் ௫௳ புதனுக்ஷயும் பூர்வபக்ஷத்து சத்தமியும்
இந்நாளால் எழுதிய சறுவசூவார்ப்பண ஓலக்கரணமாவிது [।*]

5 ஸ்ரீ பண்டாரக்காரியம் செயிவார்களாய வாலமாத்தாண்டவர்ம்மராய திர்-
ப்பாப்பூர் மூப்பில் நிந்நும் தங்கள்க்கு ஒள்ள கோவாளகொட்டைக்கு
படிஞாறு கவணாற்றினு கிழக்கொள்ள

6 இராச்சியத்தினு அகத்து ஒள்ளது நாளதுவரெ நமக்கு அவகாசமாயிட்டு
அனுபவிச்சு வருந்ந வத்து கிறத்தியங்ஙளும் தானமானங்ஙளும் எப்-
பேர்ப்பட்டதும்

7 பெருமாள் ஸ்ரீபண்டாரத்திலக்கு சறுவசூவார்ப்பணமாக ஆசெந்திரு-
ககமெ எழுதிக்கொடுத்தார் [॥*]

Second side.

8 ஸ்ரீபண்டாரக்காரியம் செய்வார்களாய வாலமார்த்தாண்டவர்ம்மராய திர்-
ப்பாப்பூர் மூப்பில் நிந்நும்

9 இம்மார்க்கமெ இ சறுவசூவார்ப்பண ஓல வகை யெழுதிய மெலெழுத்துக்
கணக்கு சங்கரகுமார[ப*]ட்டன் எழுத்து [॥*]

Translation.

Victory to Śrī-Rāma!

This is a copy of the *sarvasvārpaṇa-ōla* (document) relating to the dedication of the kingdom to the *śrībhaṇḍāra* of Perumāḷ, which was made in writing by Śrī-Vīra-Bālamārttāṇḍavarman *alias* Tiruppāppūr Mūtta-tiruvaḍi of (the) Tiruppāppūr(*-svarūpam*) and (the) Kīḷapperūr(*-illam*), from his palace.

Kollam 925, Tai 5.

This is the document relating to the wholesale dedication (*sarvasvārpaṇam*) which was written on the 5th day of the month of Makara in the Kollam year

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1. Registered as No. 13 of the *Trav. Epig. Colln.* for 1098 M. E.
2. Expressed by a symbol.
3. The symbol ௳ does duty for the word மார்த்தாண்ட.
4. The correct form is ஸர்வஸ்வார்ப்பண.
सर्वस्वार्पण is the giving away of the whole of one's possessions and it is considered to be a very meritorious kind of gift. सर्वस्वदानं is the name also of a variety of adoption practised in Nambudiri families, where in cases of absence of male issue to a deceased head, a man is adopted into the illam by giving away all the family property to him as dowry to the daughter of the house whom he marries.
5. Expressed by a symbol.

nine hundred and twenty-five, when Saturn was in Vriśchika and Jupiter stood in Mīna, which was a Wednesday with saptamī-*tithi* of the first fortnight:

Bālamārttāṇḍavarman *alias* Tiruppāppūr-Mūppu who was the head of the Government gave away (in writing) to the (*bhaṇḍāra*) treasury of Perumāḷ (god Padmanābha of Trivandrum) (to last) till the moon and sun (endure), all the property, duties, grants etc. from the kingdom lying to the west of Tōvāḷakōṭṭa and to the east of Kāvaṇāṟu which belonged to, and were till that date being enjoyed by, him.

This is the signature of the *mēleḻuttu* (head-accountant), Saṅkara-Kumārabhaṭṭaṉ who wrote in this manner this *sarvasvārpaṇa* transaction of Bālamārttāṇḍavarman *alias* Tiruppāppūr-Mūppu, who was the head of the Government.

No. 7—Cheramangalam records of Jatavarman Sundara-Chola-Pandya.

The subjoined two records in the Vaṭṭeḻuttu script and the Tamil language are engraved on the south base of the central shrine of the Vishṇu temple at Chēramaṅgalam, a small village in the Eraniel taluk of the Padmanabhapuram Division. They belong to Jaṭāvarman Sundara-Chōḷa-Pāṇḍya, the first Chōḷa-Pāṇḍya viceroy who was appointed by Rājēndrachōḷa I for the administration of his Pāṇḍya dominions, and are dated in the 19th and [6]th years of the former's reign. The writing of the second of these inscriptions seems however to be later than the Vaṭṭeḻuttu script of the middle of the 11th century, either because the engraver was a slovenly individual or this inscription was perhaps a copy incised at some later date.

The donor of the zinc lamp-stand mentioned in the first inscription was a certain Māyilaṭṭi, brother of Kaḻaṇi-Veṇṇi of Śaṅkarappāḍi who figures as a donor to the Vishṇu temple at Suchīndram in a record[1] of the 9th year of the same viceroy, where his full name is given as Kaḻaṇi-Veṇṇi *alias* Madhurāntakappēraraiyaṉ. He must have been an individual of some consequence residing at Kōṭṭāṟu and his brother, the donor in the Chēramaṅgalam record, was employed as an *oṟṟaichēvakaṉ* in the army. Both of them must have accompanied Sundara-Chōḷa-Pāṇḍya's army from the Chōḷa dominions, because Mayilaṭṭi is a name which is often met with in the Chōḷa inscriptions of the Tamil districts. *Oṟṟaichchēvakar* as a military term occurs in two inscriptions of the Pāṇḍya kings Māṟañjaḍaiyaṉ[2] and Vīra-Pāṇḍya,[3] and it may mean 'soldiers engaged on spying work (*oṟṟu*=espionage and *oṟṟaṉ*=a spy); but then the word may have to be *oṟṟuchchēvakaṉ* or *oṟṟachchēvakaṉ*. *Oṟṟai* means 'single' and *oṟṟaichchēvakar* were probably subordinate officers with some individual status as against an ordinary soldier who formed part and parcel of a battalion. It is noteworthy that some of the individuals mentioned in the Chōḷa-Pāṇḍya inscriptions[4] copied from the Suchīndram temple were influential military officers of the Chōḷa garrison:

1. *Trav. Archl. Series*, Vol. IV, p. 135.
2. *ibid.* Vol. I, p. 158.
3. *ibid.* Vol. III, p. 73.
4. *ibid.* Vol. IV, pp. 132, 135, 137.

namely, *Sēṉāpati* Malayappichōḻaṉ, *Paḍaittalaivar* Kāvāṇai-Kaṟuvūr and *Daṇḍa-nāyakaṉ* Vēḷāṉ-Śōḷakēraḷaṉ. *Teṉ*-Tiruvaraṅgamuḍaiyār the god of the Vishṇu temple of Chēramaṅgalam and *Teṉ*-Tiruvēṅgaḍamuḍaiyār installed within the big temple at Suchindrum, were perhaps named after the gods of the highly sacred temples at Tiruvaraṅgam (Śrīraṅgam) and Tiruvēṅgaḍam (Tirupati) in the Madras Presidency.

It may be noted that donors' names were very often attached to the gifts made by them to the temples. In many cases the thrones, halls and other objects and gifts with which certain kings were connected, came to be called by their names or by some of the most distinctive of their *birudas*: *e. g.*, Rājarājaṉ(*-maṇḍapa*), Aṟiyeṉṉavallāṉ(*-pandal*), Vīravallāḷaṉ(*-simhāsana*), Kulaśēkharaṉ(*-paḍi*), Kulōttuṅgasōḷaṉ (palace), Narasiṅgamuṉaiyaraiyar(*-poṅgal*), Sundara-Pāṇḍyaṉ(*-śandi*), Rājakēsari*kkāl* (a measure), Śērāntaka (vessel) are some of the many instances known from inscriptions. In a similar manner, the lamp-stand presented by Māyalaṭṭi was named Tiruvoṟṟaichchēvakaṉ, after the donor's profession.

The second epigraph records that a certain Iṟaiyān-Achchaṉ gave surety for the payment by himself of the taxes due on certain temple lands, in case the principal party called Āyiravaṉ-Dēvaṉ went out of the village, and to further pay a fine of six *kaḻañju* of gold to the king or temple, if he acted against this agreement. *Maṉṟu-māṟipōkil* is an expression which has been tentatively rendered into 'if he leaves the assembly', *maṉṟu* signifying the meeting-place of the village assembly. The term *maṉṟāḍi* therefore refers to a member of the *maṉṟu*, i. e., one who pleads cases in a village assembly[1]. It also means 'a shepherd'. The caste *mannāḍiyār* has however been derived from *maṉ*-earth and *nēḍiyār*-earners.

Mudukuḍi—is the name of the original Dravidian inhabitants whose modern representatives in the Travancore State are said to be the hill-tribes (*malaiyaravar*) called the Muduvar[2]; but it does not seem probable that Āyiravaṉ-Dēvaṉ of the present record belonged to that class. *Mūttakuḍi*[3] occurs in the Kēraḷapuram inscriptions, where it refers to a family of dancing girls attached to the Śiva temple at that place.

The other four inscriptions, three in Vaṭṭeḻuttu and the fourth in Tamil, are not of any importance, being but fragments. No. C seems to refer to a gift of an utensil called *giṇḍi* for use in the temple, while No. F states that the village of Chēramaṅgalam was a *brahmadēya* of Rājarāja-Teṉṉāḍu.

A

On the south base of the central shrine.

1 ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ [॥*] கொச்சடையபன்மரான ஸ்ரீசுந்தரசொழபாண்டியதெ
வர்க்கு யாண்டு பத்தொன்பதாவது சொழமண்டலத்தில் அருமொழி
தெவவ்ள[நா*]ட்டு புறங்-

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1. பழையமன்றுடிபோலுமிவனென்று பண்பின்மிக்க—*Periyapurāṇam.*
2. *Poruḷadhikāra-ārāychchi*, p. 11.
3. *Vide.* Kēraḷapuram records published below.

(A) Registered as No. 76 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1093 M. E.

2 கரம்பை நாட்டு முக்கரையான மும்முடிசொழபுரத்து இருக்கு[ம்*] சங்கரபாடியான் கழனி [வெண்ணியென்] நம்பி திருவொற்றைச்செவக மாயலட்டியென் இராசராசதெ[ன்*]னாட்டு செரமங்கலத்து தெவர் தென்திருவரங்கமுடையார்[க்*]குச்
3 சந்திராதித்தவல் நின்றெரிய வைச்ச தாராவிளக்கு வெள்ளிக்கொலால் நிறை அறுபது [।*] இவ்விளக்கு திருவொற்றைச்செவகன் என்பது சந்திராதித்தவல் நின்றெரியும்படித் திருவொற்றைசெவக மாயலட்டி வைச்ச திருநந்தாவிளக்கு [॥*]

Translation.

Hail! Prosperity! In the nineteenth year of king Jatāvarman *alias* Śrī Sundaraśōḷa-Pāṇḍyadēva, Tiruvoṟṟaichchēvaka-Māyalaṭṭi, brother of Kaḻaṉiveṇṇi of Śaṅkarappāḍi residing in Mukkarai *alias* Mummuḍiśōḷapuram, a village of Puṟaṅkarambai-nāḍu which is a sub-division of Arumoḷidēva-vaḷanāḍu, a district of Śōḷa maṇḍalam, gave a zinc lamp-stand weighing sixty (*palam*) by the *veḷḷikkōl*, for burning as long as the moon and sun (last) a perpetual lamp to the god Teṉ-Tiruvaraṅgamuḍaiyār of Śēramaṅgalam, (a village) of Rājarāja-Teṉṉāḍu. This lamp-stand called Tiruvoṟṟaichchēvakaṉ is the perpetual lamp given by Tiruvoṟṟaichchēvaka-Māyalaṭṭi, to burn as long as the moon and sun (endure).

B

On the south base of the central shrine.

1 ஸ்வஸ்திஸ்ரீ [।*] கொச்சடையவன்மரான ஸ்ரீசுந்தரசொழபாண்டியதெவர்-[க்*]கு யாண்டு [ஆறு]வது தென்திருவரங்கமுடையார் கொவிலில் முதுகுடி செந்தில் ஆயிரவ-
2 [தெ]வன் மன்றுமாறி பொகில் தன்கூ[1] ஆக இறை புணைபடுவென் இவ்வூரை[3] மன்றாடி
3 இறையான் அச்சன்னென் இப்படி அன்றென்[எ]ல் அன்றாடு கொவிலுக்கு[2] அறுகழ[ஞ்*]சு பொன் படுவொதாக
4 ஒட்டி திட்டு செலுத்துவதாக ஒட்டி கைய்த்திட்டுக் குடுத்தொம் இவ்விருவொம் செரமங்கலத்து ஸபையார்க்கு [॥*]
5 இப்படி அறிவெ[4]

Translation.

Hail! Prosperity! In the sixth year of king Jaṭāvarman *alias* Śrī-Sundaraśōḷa-Pāṇḍyadēva, I, Iṟaiyāṉ-Achchaṉ a *maṉṟāḍi* of this village shall be security for the tax (due) as my (own) debt, if Āyiravaṉ-Dēvaṉ of Śendil the tenant (*muḍukuḍi*) of the temple of Teṉ-Tiruvaraṅgamuḍaiyār should shift from (the jurisdiction of) this assembly. If I say nay to this, I shall incur a fine of six *kaḷañju* of gold to the king for each day (of default).

Thus, we two agreed (to the above) and gave a written declaration to the council (*sabhaiyār*) of Chēramaṅgalam. This (I) know ....

(B) Registered as No. 77 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1093 M. E.

1. It is probably a contraction for தன் கட[ம்*] ஆக or கட[ஸம*] ஆக.

2. If it is கொவிலுக்கு, the fine was payable to the temple.

3 Read இவ்வூர்.

4 The record stops here.

C

On the south base of the central shrine.

1 ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ [।*] செரமங்கலத்து இணேரய சிங்க[1]-
2 வீர[ன்*] தென்த்திருவரங்கமுடைய்யா[ர*[க்கு இட்ட கிண்டி . . .[2]

D

On a pillar in front of the temple.

1 தென்ந-
2 திருவர-
3 ங்கத்து
4 ஆழ்வார்

No. 9—An inscription from Tiruvanvandur.

Tiruvaṇvaṇḍūr which is known by the name of Tiruveṇmaṇḍūr and Tiruvaṇmaṇḍūr in inscriptions is one of the thirteen holy places of Malai-maṇdalam sung in the hymns of Nammāḷvār. It is referred to in the *Nālāyiraprabandham*[4] as well as in *Māṟanalaṅkārām*[5] and *Ashṭaprabandham*[6] as Tiruvaṇvaṇḍūr, the change of *vaṇḍūr* into *maṇḍūr* being accounted for by the genius of the Malayalam language (*cf.*, *vaṇṇāṉ*, *maṇṇāṉ*;).

(C) & (D). These are registered as Nos. 78 and 79 of Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1093 M. E. (Vaṭṭeḷuttu and Tamil).

1 Read இரணியசிங்கவீரன்.

2 A few letters mentioning the weight of the *giṇḍi* (vessel with a spout) are missing.

3 The following two inscriptions are fragmentary records in Vaṭṭeḷuttu.

E.—(No. 80 of 1093).

1 ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ [।*]இடவத்தில் வியா . . . . .
2 ற்று செரமங்கலத்து தெவர் தென்றி . . . . . .
3 ட்டு அதியனூரான அழகியபாண்டி . . . . . .
4 திளெண்பூமி பட்டணமான . . . .
5 பொகம் ஆற்றுபுரத்து முத்தறை ஆ . . . . . .
6 றைக்கு மெக்கு காலுக்கு வட . . . . . .

F.—(*On the balikkal*).

1 ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ [।*] ராஜராஜத்தென்னாட்டு ஶு-
2 ஹஸ்ரெயம் செரமங்கலத்து ஆழ்வார் தென்திரு-
3 வரங்க

4 *Tiruvāymoḷi*, VI, 1.

5 மலர்மகள் சேர்மணிமார்பன் வைகலும் வைகலும் மறுகில்
வண்டூர் வண்டூர் —*Māṟanalaṅkāram*, v. 713.

6 தேசமுலகுமுயிருந் திரிந்துநிற்கும்
யாவும் படைத்த விறைகண்டீர்—பூவிற்
திருவண்வண்டூருறையுந் தேவாதிதேவன்
மருவண்வண்டூர் துளவமால். —*Naṟṟeṭṭu-tiruppati-andādi*, v. 67.

The Vishṇu temple at that place, which must therefore be of great antiquity dating at least from the time of Nammāḻvār, the Vaishṇava saint who has been considered by some to have flourished about the beginning of the 9th century, contains also epigraphical evidence of its early age in the two records of the Vēṇāḍu king Śrīvallabhaṅgōdai (about A. D. 970) which have been published already. The present record can from its writing be approximately assigned to about the same period or a few decades later.

It registers a gift of some lands by Ediraṉ-Kaviraṉ of Kurattikkāḍu for the maintenance of a perpetual lamp in the Vishṇu temple at Tiruvaṇmaṇḍūr, which were left in the hands of a body called the *añju-gaṇattār* [1], who were to enjoy the lands and burn the lamp in the temple. The donor, however, retained the right to take back the lands from these men if they were remiss in their service and to give them to his own descendants to cultivate and continue the supply of ghee for the perpetual lamp. The 'three-hundred' of Naṉṟuḻai-nāḍu were entrusted with the general supervision of this charity.

It is interesting to note that in all the three epigraphs of Tiruvaṇvaṇḍūr the transgressors were threatened with the penalty of the operation of the Mūḻik-kaḷa-kachcham, which must have weilded considerable influence in those days. Mūḻikkaḷam or Mūshikakuḷam was one of the four places, where an early *kulakam* (*kaḻakam*)or assembly was installed according to the *Kēraḷōlppatti*.

The proper names occurring in the record are:

Ediraṉ-Kaviraṉ-of Kurattikkāḍu (in the Tiruvalla taluk),
Śēnnan-Kaṇṇaṉ of Charuppēdimaṅgalam,
Śāttaṉ-Kīraṉ of Tāḻañjēri,
Śuvaraṉ-Śāttaṉ of Nārāyaṇamaṅgalam,
Dēvaṉ-Śēnnaṉ of Eḻumuḷaichchēri,
Śaṅkaraṉ-Śuvaraṉ of Tāḻaiman, and
Vaḍukikōdu and Uḍiyaṅkōḍu among names of fields.

Text.[2]

1 . . . கர் . [ட]கத்துள் வியாழ நிற்க மிரிச்சிகஞாயிற்றுச் செய்த காரியமாவது [।*] திருவெண்மண்டூர் பட்டாரகர் திருவடிக்கு குறத்திகாட்டு எதிரங்கவிரர் அமைச்ச நந்தாவிளக்கினு திருவெண்மண்டூர் ஊரா-

2 . . . முன்று பொன் கொடுத்து [கொ]ண்ட பூமி [।*] வடுகிகொடும் உதியன் கொட்டில் பாதியும் இவ்விர[ண்டு] பூமியும் நந்தாவிளக்கினு அமைச்சான் [।*] இநந்தாவிளக்கினு ஐஞ்சு கணத்தாரும் நெய் யட்டக்கடவியர் [।*] இவ்வஞ்சு கணத்தாரும் உழவு அடுத்தாலு ஒருநாள் [முட்]டிக்கில்

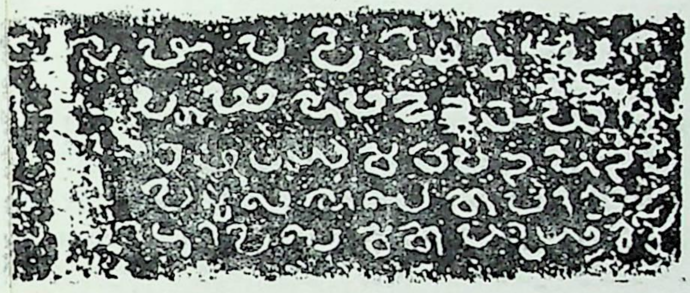
3 . . . ம் உழுமவகள்க்கு இப்பூமி விலக்கிகிலும் திருவிளக்கு முட்டிக்கிலும் மூழிக்களத்து படுவதெ [।*] முட்டிச்சவனு அஞுபந்தம் பறையுமவனும் பெருமானடிகள் திருவடிக்கு ஐம்பதிங் கழைஞ்சு பொன்தண்டம் . . . . . . நாடுவாழுமவர்க்கும் இருபத்தைங்[கழைஞ்ஞு] பொன்த்த-

1 Compare also the *panchagaṇas* of the epic age and the *aimperuṅguḻu* of Tamil literature.

2 This is registered as No. 16 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1097 M. E.

4 . . . சருப்பெதிமங்கலத்து செந்நங் கண்ணனும் தா[ழ]ஞ்செரியுடை சா-
த்தங் கிரனும் நாராயணமங்கலயுடை சுவரஞ் சாத்தனும் எழுமுளேச்செ-
ரியுடைய தெவஞ் செந்நனும் தாழைமண்ணுடைய சங்கரஞ் சுவரனும்
இவகள் ஐய்வரும் இப்பூமிக்கு இ[றை] அ[மி]ச்சினு

To face page 32.



2a

4a



2b

4b

மிகமுட்டிக்கில் சென்ற செலவினேடு பாட்டம் விடக்கடவியர்
occurring in the Tirukkuḍittaṇam inscription, *T. A. S.*, Vol. II, p. 36.

2 ய is engraved below the line.

3 The two த's are written below the line.

4 The missing syllables are clearly 'ரங்கவி' in this instance.

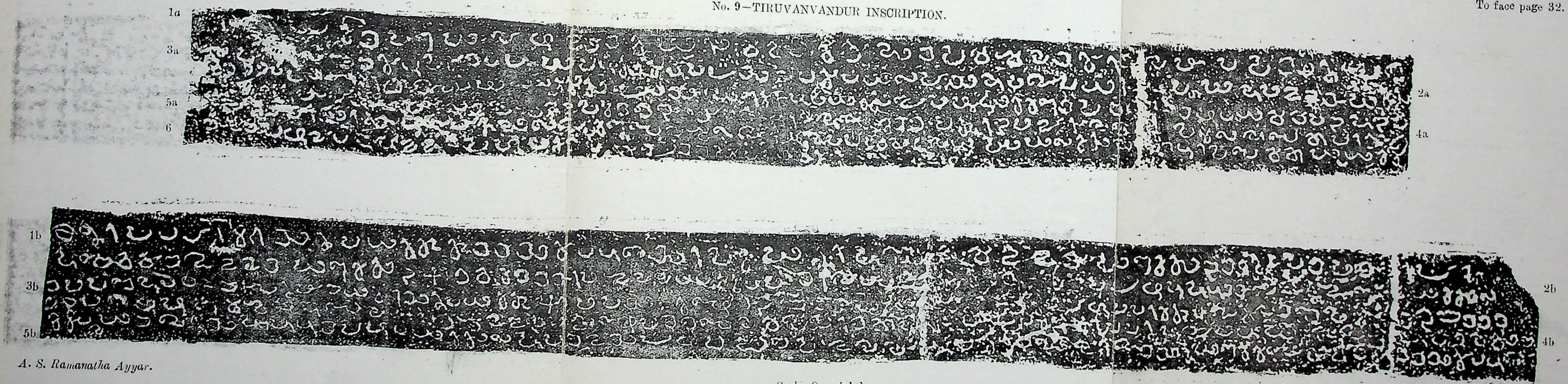
5 *Trav. Archl. Series*, Vol. III, p. 162.

4 . . . சருப்பெதிமங்கலத்து செந்நங் கண்ணனும் தா[ழ]ஞ்செரியுடை சாத்தங் கிரனும் நாராயணமங்கலயுடை சுவாஞ் சாத்தனும் எழுமுளச்செரியுடைய தெவஞ் செந்நனும் தாழைமண்ணுடைய சங்கரஞ் சுவானும் இவகள் ஐய்வரும் இப்பூமிக்கு இ[றை] அ[மி]ச்சினு

T. A. S, Vol. V-Part I.

No. 9—TIRUVANVANDUR INSCRIPTION.

To face page 32.



A. S. Ramanatha Ayyar.

Scale: One-eighths.

ிகமுட்டிக்கில் சென்ற செலவிரேடு பாட்டம் விடக்கடவியர்
occurring in the Tirukkuḍittaṇam inscription, *T. A. S.*, Vol. II, p. 36.

2 ய is engraved below the line.

3 The two த's are written below the line.

4 The missing syllables are clearly 'ரங்கவி' in this instance.

5 *Trav. Archl. Series*, Vol. III, p. 162.

The Vishṇu temple at that place, which must therefore be of great antiquity dating at least from the time of Nammāḻvār, the Vaishṇava saint who has been considered by some to have flourished about the beginning of the 9th century, contains also epigraphical evidence of its early age in the two records of the Vēṇāḍu king Śrīvallabhaṅgōdai (about A. D. 970) which have been published already.

பெருமானடிகள் திருவடிக்கு ஐம்பதிங் கழைஞ்சு பொன்தண்டம் . . .
. . . நாடுவாழுமவர்க்கும் இருபத்தைங்[கழைஞ்சு] பொன்த்த-

1 Compare also the *panchagaṇas* of the epic age and the *aimperuṅguḻu* of Tamil literature.

2 This is registered as No. 16 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1097 M. E.

4 . . . சருப்பெதிமங்கலத்து செந்நங் கண்ணனும் தா[ழ]ஞ்செரியுடை சாத்தங் கிரனும் நாராயணமங்கலயுடை சுவரஞ் சாத்தனும் எழுமுளைச்செரியுடைய தெவஞ் செந்நனும் தாழைமண்ணுடைய சங்கரஞ் சுவரனும் இவகள் ஐய்வரும் இப்பூமிக்கு இ[றை] அ[ழி]ச்சினு

5 . . . . . யிராதொழிவொராயில் இவகளுடைய செல[யிது][1] எப்படிப்பட்டிதும் விலக்கி யுள் தடுத்துவைச்சு மிட்டிக்கொள்ளக்கடவிய[2]ன் [।*] ஒரு திஙள் அடுத்து முட்டிக்கில் அவன் தந்ததி[3] உழுது நின்று நெய்யட்டக் கடவியர் [।*] இத்திருவிளக்கு வைச்சான் குறத்திகாட்டு எதி-

6 . . . . [4]ரன் நன்றுழநாட்டு முந்நூற்றுவரும் கண்டு செலுத்தக் கடவியர்[॥*]

Translation.

In the month of Vriśchika when Jupiter stood in . . . ṭaka, the following transaction was made:—

Ediraṅ-Kaviraṉ of Kuṟattikāḍu gave, by purchase for . 3 *poṉ* from the *ūrār* of Tiruveṇmaṇḍur, the two (pieces of) lands Vaḍugi-kōḍu and a half of Uḍiyaṉ-kōḍu, for the perpetual lamp which he instituted in the temple of (the god) Tiruveṇmaṇḍūr-Bhaṭāraka. The five representatives (*gaṇattār*) shall measure out ghee to this perpetual lamp. If in the cultivation of this land . . . . be stopped for one day . . . . . . , if the tenants be ejected from this land, and if the sacred lamp fail (to be lighted), they shall be subject to (the penalty of) Mūḻikkaḷam. The defaulter and he who abets him shall pay a fine of fifty *kaḻañju* of gold to the king (Perumānaḍigaḷ-Tiruvaḍi) and a fine of twenty-five *kaḻañju* of gold to the officer administering the district.

Śēṉṉaṉ-Kaṇṇan of Saruppēdimaṅgalam, Śāttaṉ-Kīraṉ of Tāḻañjēri, Śuvaraṉ-Śāttaṉ of Nārāyaṇamaṅgalam, Dēvaṉ-Śennaṉ of Eḻumuḷaichchēri, Saṅkaraṉ-Śuvaraṉ of Tāḻaimaṉ—these five persons shall pay the tax on this land; if they fail to do so, the lands shall be taken back from them forfeiting their expenditure. If there is default for one month consecutively, his (the donor's) descendants shall cultivate the lands and supply the ghee. This sacred lamp was (thus) given by Ediraṅ-Kaviraṉ of Kuṟattikāḍu. The 'three-hundred' of Naṉṟuḻa-nāḍu shall also supervise this supply (of ghee).

No. 10—Fragmentary record of Indukodaivarman.

This inscription is engraved on the base of the *suṟṟu-maṇḍapa* of the same Vishṇu temple at Tiruvaṉvaṇḍūr. It is in the Vaṭṭeḻuttu alphabet and is so completely defaced that only a few syllables are legible here and there. The incomplete transcript is, however, given below, as the record is dated in the year opposite to the fifth year of the early king Kō-Indukōdaivarman,[5] whose position

1 Compare the restriction,
திகமுட்டிக்கில் சென்ற செலவிேனாடு பாட்டம் விடக்கடவியர்
occurring in the Tirukkuḍittaṉam inscription, *T. A. S.*, Vol. II, p. 36.

2 ய is engraved below the line.

3 The two த's are written below the line.

4 The missing syllables are clearly 'ரங்கவி' in this instance.

5 *Trav. Archl. Series*, Vol. III, p. 162.

in the Chēra genealogy has been fixed before Bhaskara Ravivarman. The record further mentions Kumaraṉ-Kuṉṟappōḷaṉ, and the *muṉṉūṟṟuvar* of Naṉṟuḷai-nāḍu.

Text.[2]

1 கொவிந்து கொதைவர்ம்மர்க்குச்செ . . . . [ய்யா]மாண்டைக் கெதிராமாண்டு . . . .

2 நன்றுழநாட்டு முந்நூற்றுவரும் . . . . சஞ் செந்தனு மங்கலத்து குமரங்குன்றப்பொழனு நன்றுழைநாட்டு . யனும் இநால்வரும் . . . .

3 . . . .
ச்சு திருவெண்மண்டூரும் . . . .

No. 11—Peruneyil inscription of the 11th century A. D.

This inscription is engraved on the south base of the central shrine in the temple at Peruneyil which is a suburb of Chenganachery. It is in the Vaṭṭeḻuttu alphabet and the Tamil language. On palaeographical grounds the record may be assigned to about the end of the 10th or to the beginning of the 11th century A. D., as the characters are very much like those of the records of that period.

It registers a gift of some paddy and land by a certain Ediraṉ-Kaviraṉ of Jñāvarkkāḍu for feeding one thousand brahmans during the annual festival of the temple falling in the month of Kanni. It may be noted that in an epigraph from Tiruvaṉvaṇḍūr of about the same period as this, a certain Ediraṉ-Kaviraṉ of Kurattikkāḍu (Tiruvalla taluk) figures as a donor of a perpetual lamp to the Vishṇu temple of that place and as the reading Jñāvarkkāḍu of the present record is not quite free from doubt, it is probable that the two individuals were identical.

The recipients of the gift were the members of the *tirunālgaṇam* and the *poduvāḷ* of Peruneydal. The defaulter was subject to the payment of a fine of 100 *kaḷañju* of gold to the *Kōyiladhikāri* who belonged to the ministry (*amaichchuḷḷu-ṟutta?*), 50 *kaḷañju* to the ruler of the district and 12 *kaḷañju* to the immediate controlling authority, perhaps the village official. The *kōyiladhikāri* has here taken the place of *perumānaḍigaḷ* (king), to whom the first penalty was generally payable. *Tirunālgaṇam*[3] represents the body of men who looked after the festivals of the temple. *Gaṇa* as a body corporate in religious institutions is well-known from ancient times when it wielded political power also.

The contributions of cocoanuts, plantains etc. which the *viḷāvāṟiyar* had to provide for the feeding during the annual festivals of the temple were the customary perquisites which they had to supply from the *pañchabhōgam*[4] or the five products of a typical West Coast garden, *viz.*,

1. Kombu-chakka, a jack for each tree,
2. Kula-tēṅgā, a bunch of cocoanuts,

1 Registered as No. 100 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1086 M. E.
2 The *utsava-saṅkētas* of the *Raghuvamśa* and the *Mahābhārata* appear to be similar corporate bodies and not tribes: शैरेरुत्सवसंकेतान् स कृत्वा विरतोत्सवान् and गणान् उत्सवसंकेतान् अजयन् सप्त पाण्डवाः.
3 *Trav. State Manual*, Vol. III, p. 319.

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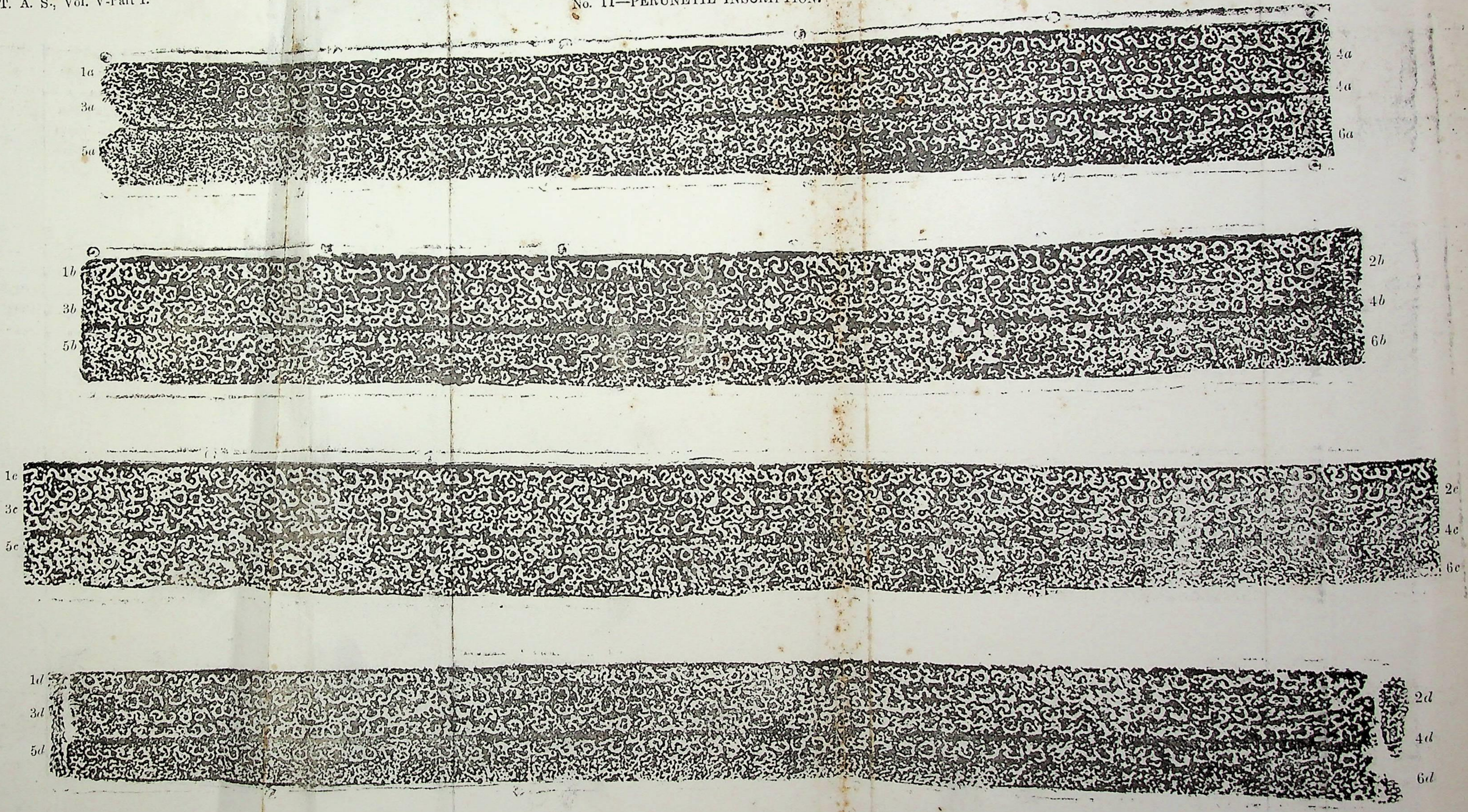
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॥*]
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T. A. S., Vol. V-Part I.

No. 11—PERUNEYIL INSCRIPTION.



Scale: One-sevenths.

A. S. Romanatha Ayyar.

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3. Kula-aḍakka, a bunch of arecanuts,
4. Kula-vāḻai, a bunch of plantains, and
5. Veṭṭu-ōla, share in the cocoanut leaves cut.

The *poduvāḷ* had also to supply some vegetables on these occasions on behalf of the lands which they were enjoying as *virutti*-holdings. In lieu of this load of vegetables, its commuted value (*chumaṭṭu-paṇam*)[1] was sometimes payable by the tenants.

Text.[2]

1 ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ[॥*] கன்னியில் வியாழந் நிற்[க*]கன்னி ஞாயிற்று ஞாயிருண்ட
அச்சுவதி நாள் பெருநெய்தல முக்கால்வட்டத் திருந்நு திருநாள்க்கண-
த்தாரும் பொதுவாளும் அவிரோத[த்*]தால் கூடிச் செய்த கருமமாவ-
து[॥*]இத் திருநாள்க்கணத்தார்க்கு ஞாவல்க்காட்டு எதிரங்கவிரன் க-
ளத்திலொடியாகின்ற பூமி இருநூற்றுக் கலத்தின் மெலும் முஞ்ஞூ-
டு[வு]டைய ஆதிச்சன கொதைக்கு எதிரங்கவிரன கொடுத்துடைய
நெல பதினாழிப்பறையால் ஆயிரம் பறையும் விற்றிரட்டிச்ச [வண்ணம்]
பதிநாழிப்பறையால் ஈராயிரம் பறைநெல்லும் ஆட்டா-

2 ண்டும் கன்னிஞாயிற்றெருறும் திருநாள்க்கணத்தாருடைய திருவாராதனத்தி-
ல் ஆயிரவர் பிராமணரை அமிர்து சைய்விப்பிதாகத் திருநாள்க் கணத்-
தார் பொதுவாள் சைய்யி லட்டிக்[கொ]டுத்தான் எதிரங்கவிரன்[॥*]
இத்திருவாராதனம் பத்துநாளிலும் கன்னிஞாயிற் றமரவக்ஷத்தில் பஞ்-
சமி துடங்கி நியதி நூறு நூறு மானிடத்தை அமிர்து சைய்யிச்சு ஆரு-
ட்டக்கடவர் ஆட்டாண்டும் வாரியரும் பொதுவாளும் எதிரங்கவிரனும்
[॥*]இதர வழியால் [ஒரொத்தர்]ஒரொத்தர் இரட்டிரட்டை குலை[3] வா-
ழைக்காயும் ஒரொ குலை[3] வாழைப்பழமும் . . . .

3 முபது பத்து தெங்காயும் ஒரொத்தொருத்த ரிரட்டிரண்டு கறியும் இருநா-
ழிச் சைய்துப்பும் இருபலஞ் சைய்துபுளியும் அஞ்ஞாழிச் சைய்து தயிரும்
பதிநாழிச் சைய்துமோரும் கொண்டு வந்நு தத்தமக்கு பட்ட நாள்
கொண்டு வந்நு அகத்து பந்திரடியில் முன்னேய் விழாவாரியரும் பொ-
துவாளொடு கூட அளவு கொடுத் தமிர்து சைய்யிக்க கடவர்[॥*]பொ-
துவா ளிருநூறு புளிக்கறி கொண்டு வந்நு கொடுக்க கடவன்[॥*] திரிஞ்-
ஞு பந்திரடியில் முன்னெயமிர்து செய்யிச்சு விழாப்பலி புறப்படக்கடவர்
வாரியரும் பொதுவாளும்[॥*]இ[லை]யும் விறகும் வுத்திர விழாச்செய்யு
மவகள் கொண்டு . . . .

4 அடிக்க கடவர்[॥*]இப்பரிசெய் இத்திருவிழாவிந்நு எதிரங்கவிர னமைச்ச-
செலவு அமைஞ்ஞவண்ணம் முட்டாதெ செலுத்தக் கடவர் திருநாள்க்க-
ணத்தாரும் பொதுவாளும் [॥*]இப்பரி சொட்டினகாலத்து முட்டா-
தெ செலுத்தாதொழிவராகில் அமைச்சுள்ளு[றுத்த] கொயிலதிகாரிக்கு
நூற்றுக்கழைஞ்ஞும் நாடுவாழுமவர்க்கு அய்ம்பதின் கழைஞ்ஞும்
வாழ்க்கைவாழுமவர்க்கு பந்திருகழைஞ்ஞு பொன் தண்ட[ப்]பட[க்*]-
கடவர்[॥*]இடையிடன் இச்செலவினு விரொதிக்கில் இத்தண்டம் பொ-

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1 *Trav. State Manual*, Vol. III, p. 335.

2 Registered as No. 14 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1097 M. E. (Also No. 85 of 1086).

3 குலை looks like கரு.

[ன்*]னும் பட்டு தவைக்கும் பந்திரு கழைஞ்ஞு பொன தண்டம் வைச்சு காட்டப்பெறக்[1] கடவன் [||*] திருநாள்க்கணத்தா-

5 ருடைய கரியில்ப் புக்கு விலக்குமவரும் பொருள் கவருமவரும் இ[த்*]தண்டம்படக்கடவியர் [||*] இவமைஞ்ஞு கறியும் முட்டி யூண்வொன்று குறையிலும் கொண்டுவாரா தொழிஞ்ஞு கணத்தான் இரண்டரைக் காணம் பொன் தண்டம் வைச்சு[க் கொண்டு] அடைக்காயமிது மிடக்கடவியன் [||*] களத்திநலொடி[நெல்லு] ஆதிச்சங்கொதை தந்து செல்லானுகில் [3]முழாவு திருநாள்க்கணத்தாரும் பொதுவாளும் எதிரங் கவிரனும் கூடி-மற்றொரு பூமி மெலிட்டு எதிரங்கவிரனைக்கொண்டு காராண்மை செய்யிச்சு ஆண்டாண்டும் எண்ணாழிப்பறையா லிருநாறுபறை . . . .

6 கி அரிகருதிது[4] கொடுக்ககடவன் [||*] எதிரங்கவிரனும் தந்ததியும் இப் பூமி காராண்மைச் செய்து நெல்லளப்பா ஞற்றுதொழிகில் கணத்தாரும் பொதுவாளும் தாங்ஙளெய் உழுது கொண்டு செலுத்தக்கடவர்[||*] எதிரங்கவிர[னும்] அவன பெண்ணு பிள்ளையும் ரக்ஷிக்கக்கடவர் பொதுவாளும் கணத்தாரும் [||*] எதிரங்கவிரனுக பெண்ணும் பிள்ளைக்கும் தந்ததிக்கும்-[மு]டைய-

Translation.

Hail! Prosperity! The following is the transaction made unanimously on the day of Aśvati which was a Sunday in the month of Kaṉṉi (of the year) in which Jupiter stood in Kanyā-rāśi when, in the temple at Peruneydal were assembled together the *tirunālganattār* (*i. e*., the body of men managing the temple festivals) and the *poduvāḷ*. In order that one thousand Brāhmaṇas may be fed each year during the festivals conducted by the *tirunālganattār* in the month of Kaṉṉi, Ediraṅ-Kaviraṉ of Jñāvalkāḍu gave with libation of water to this body of *tirunālganam*, the land called Kaḷattinālōḍi with the sowing capacity of two-hundred *kalam* of seed, and two thousand *paṟai* of seed-paddy measured by the *paṟai* holding ten *nāḻi*, as doubled by sale from the quantity of one thousand *paṟai* of paddy measured by the *paṟai* of ten *nāḻi*, given by Ediran-Kaviraṉ to Ādichchaṉ Kōdai of Muññināḍu. Annually, the *vāriyar*, the *poduvāḷ* and Ediraṅ-Kaviraṉ shall feed daily one hundred men during the ten days of this festival commencing from the fifth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Kaṉṉi and have the *āṟāṭṭu* (ceremony done). By a different arrangement have the *viḷā-vāriyār* each by himself, separately and individually, to bring on the days fixed for them, two bunches of unripe plantain, one bunch of plantain fruits, ... ten cocoanuts, two kinds of vegetables, two *nāḻi* of pure salt, two *palam* of good tamarind, five *nāḻi* of good curds, ten *nāḻi* of good buttermilk, have them measured out to the *poduvāḷ* before the twelve-feet-time before noon, and have the feeding conducted. The *poduvāḷ* shall bring and give two hundred vegetables for frying (for the occasions). After the feeding is made, and before the twelve-feet-time afternoon, the bali-procession of the festival shall be started by the *vāriyar* and the *poduvāḷ*. Those who perform the Uttira-festival . . . . shall supply leaves and fuel.

1 This may be also a mistake for பாட்டம் பெறக்கடவன்; if it is காட்டக்கடவன், பெற is unnecessary.

2 Engraved above the line.

3 Read விழாவு.

4 This is not understood.

5 The name of the donor is repeated in the original.

Thus, the *tirunāḷgaṇattār* and the *poduvāḷ* shall expend according to the scale of expenses fixed by Ediraṅ-Kaviraṉ for this festival and without causing any default. If they fail to so expend without default and at the stated times, they shall be liable to pay a fine of one hundred *kaḻañju* of gold to the Kōyiladhikāri (in the presence) of the ministers, fifty *kaḻañju* (of gold) to the ruler of the district, and twelve *kaḻañju* to the *vāḻkkaivāḻumavaṉ* (immediate controlling authority). If the *iḍaiyīḍaṉ* (here refers to the cultivator) objects to the expenses, he shall, besides paying the above fixed fines, pay a fine of twelve *kaḻañju* of gold to the assembly, so as to be seen by others. Those who enter on the lands of the *tirunāḷgaṇattār* and eject (the tenants) and those who exact money from (them) shall be subject to these fines. If the stipulated vegetables fail and the feeding is diminished even by one, the *gaṇattāṉ* who failed to bring the dues, shall pay a fine of two and a half *kāṇam* of gold together with (supplying) betel-leaves[1] and nuts. If Ādichchaṉ-Kōdai fail to give his dues on Kaḷattināḷōḍi, the *tirunāḷgaṇattār* the *poduvāḷ* and Ediraṅ-Kaviraṉ shall conjointly invest (the capital) on some other land and, getting that land cultivated by Ediraṅ-Kaviraṉ, shall pay annually two hundred *paṟai*, as measured by the *paṟai* holding eight *nāḻi*, and . . . . If Ediraṅ-Kaviraṉ and his successors become incapable of cultivating this land and measuring out the paddy, the *gaṇattār* and the *poduvāḷ* shall themselves take up the cultivation and supply (the paddy).

(In that case), the *gaṇattār* and the *poduvāḷ* shall protect Ediraṅ-Kaviraṉ and his male and female relations.[2] Ediraṅ-Kaviraṉ . . . belonging to his male and female relations. . . . .

No. 12.— Peruneyil Inscription of Kulasekhara-Koyiladhikari.

This inscription is engraved on a slab set up on the west side of the central shrine in the temple at Peruneyil. It is in the Vaṭṭeḻuttu alphabet and the language is the western dialect of Tamil with a few peculiarities.

The record is dated in the 8th year opposite to the 2nd of the reign of Kulaśēkhara-Kōyiladhikāri but does not give the Kollam year, stating only that Jupiter was in the Karkaṭaka-rāśi. The inscription of the Rāmēśvara temple at Quilon dated in Kollam 278 and mentioning a Kōyiladhikāri Kulaśēkhara-Chakravartin cannot be far removed from this record in point of time.

It registers a royal order issued by Kulaśēkhara-Kōyilādhikāri who was staying at Neḍiyataḷi, granting an annual income of forty *kalam* along with *arandai* in favour of the temple of Peruneyil for the expenses of feeding some persons in the temple and for having the *Mahābhārata* expounded. The recipients of the grant were the members of the village assembly and the *poduvāḷ*. The grant was ratified at the command of the Kōyiladhikāri by the chieftains of the two villages of Kāpālimaṅgalam and Muttūṟu, who promised not to collect the *arandai* thereafter.

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1 *Aḍai* means '*leaf*' and *kāy* areca-nut— 'நெய்யிடைநல்லதோர் சோறும் . . . . . கையடைக்கா யும்.' - *Tiruppallāṇḍu*, though *aḍaikkāy* now signifies only nuts.

2 The wording of this last portion is not quite free from doubt.

Two other place-names occur in the inscription, *viz.*, Kāmakkāṇappaḷḷi[1] and Kaḍamba-nāḍu[2]. Of these Kāpālimaṅgalam and Kāmakkāṇappaḷḷi appear in the Tiruvalla plates and Neḍiyataḷi[3] is mentioned in two records of Tirukkākkarai. Muttūṟṟukūṟṟam figures in *Puram* 24 as being subject to the sway of one of the Vēḷir chiefs. A place named Muttūṟṟumūlai[4] is mentioned in the Tiruvalla plates. But this Muttūṟu[5] may possibly be Muttūṟu in the Tiruvalla taluk.

Padi or *Kuḍippaḍi* is the term which has been applied to the chieftains of Puṉṉaittalappati[6] and Pūḷaikkuḍippati, mentioned in the Kottayam plates of Sthāṇu-Ravi. The term *āṭṭaikkoḷ* means 'what is obtained during the year'. *Tirukkai-naṉaichch-aruḷiyār* which literally means 'was pleased to wet the hands' is used to indicate that the gift was made 'with libation of water'. *Padiyuṟutti* (*l.* 55) literally 'impressed on the chiefs' means that the order was conveyed to the chiefs. The sparing use of the dialectic forms *oḷḷa* (*l.* 4) *aruḷiyār* (*l.* 23, 70, 71), and *vanna* (*l.* 58) may be noted. The meaning of *arandai* is not clear, but it seems to signify some kind of tax in money or in kind payable to *dēśavāḻis*; its literary synonym is 'misery'.

Text.[7]

1 ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ [॥*] இரா-
2 மாண்டைக்கெதிர் எ-
3 ட்டாமாண்டு குல-
4 செகர கொயிலதி-
5 காரிகள் திருவிரா-
6 ச்சியஞ் செல்லா-
7 னின்ற கர்க்கடகத்-
8 தில் வியாழத்தி-
9 ல விரிச்சிக-
10 ஞாயிற்று நாலு
11 தளியையுந் திரு-
12 க்குன்றப்பொழை-
13 யுங் கூட்டி கொ-
14 ண்டு நெடியதளி
15 இருந்நருளி பெரு-
16 நெய்தல் ஆட்டைக்-
17 கொளால் நால்ப்ப-
18 தின் கலந் நெல்-
19 லும் பெருநெய்த-
20 ல் அரந்தையும் அ-

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1 *Trav. Archl. Series*, Vol. II. p. 154.

2 *Ibid.* Vol. II. p. 183.

3 *Ibid.* Vol. II. p. 47.

4 *Ibid.* Vol. II. p. 163.

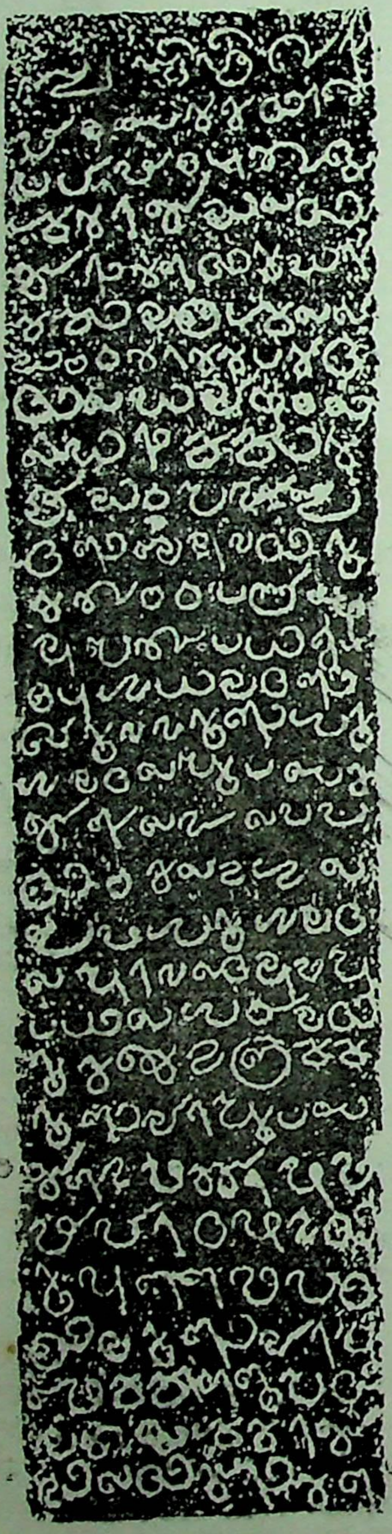
5 മുത്തൂററിച്ചെന്നിനിയപ്പുഴയും പിന്നിലിട്ടേച്ചു ഗംഗാ
മുത്തിയ്യ്ത്തം വിരവൊടു സഖേ നാലുകോടിക്ക ചെൽക.— *Uṇṇunīlisandēśam.* v. 125.

6 *Ibid.* Vol. II. p. 82.

7 This is registered as No. 15 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1097 M. E. (Also No. 87 of 1086).

No. 12—RECORD OF KULASEKHARA-KOYILADHIKARI.

First side.



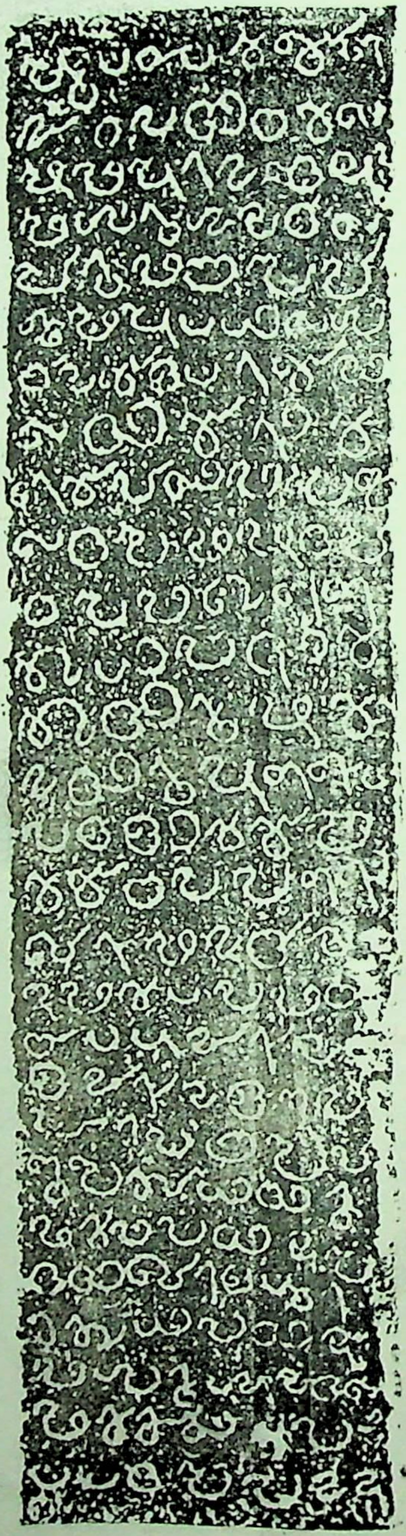
1 3 5 7 9 11 13 15 17 19 21 23 25 27 29

Third side.



59 60 61 62 63 64 65 66 67 68 69 70 71 72

Second side.



31 33 35 37 39 41 43 45 47 49 51 53 55 57

Scale: One-sevenths.

A. S. Ramanatha Ayyar.

21 ட்டில்பெருய் தி-
22 ருக்கை நனைச்ச-
23 ருளியார் [।*] ஆட்டைக்
24 கொள் நமக்காரமும்
25 மாபாரதமுந் தி-
26 ருவுள்ளம் பண்-
27 ணியருளியார் அ-
28 மைச்சுள்ளூ பதி[1]-
29 ய குலசெகரகொ
30 யிலதிகாரிகள் [॥*]

Second face.

31 ஆட்டைக்கொள்
32 நாற்பதின்கல-
33 முழ் அரந்தையு-
34 ம் பெருநெய்தல்
35 ஊரும் பொதுவா-
36 ளும் அட்டில்பெ-
37 ருய் கொண்டார் [॥*] கொயி-
38 ல் திகாரிக-
39 ள் காபாலிமங்ங-
40 லத்தும் முத்தூ-
41 ற்றும் ஓள்ள
42 குடிபதிக்-
43 கு திருமுக-
44 ந் திருவுள்ளம்
45 பண்ணிக்[2] காம-
46 க்கானப்பள்ளி
47 இராமந் தாய-
48 னும் கடம்மன்
49 ஞட்டு நாராய-
50 ண நாராயணனும்
51 ஊர்ப்பொதுவா-
52 ளுங் கூடி திரு-
53 [மு]கம் பதியுறு-
54 த்தி [।*] இரண்டூர்-
55 [க்] குடிபதியு-
56 ம் பெருநெய்தல்
57 [மு]க்கால்வ-
58 ட்டத்து வந்து

Third face.

59 கூடி அ-
60 ரந்தை[3] அ-

1 அமைச்சுள்ளூறு[த்*]திய seems to be a better reading. Compare also அமைச்சுள்ளூறுத்த கோயிலதிகாரிகள்க்கு (*T. A. S.*, II, p. 44) and அமைச்சுள்ளூறுத்த கோயிலதிகாரிக்கு (*T. A. S.*, V, p.35)

2 Read பண்ணக்.

3 The word *arandai* has beed used in the sense of 'misery' in *Śilappadigāram*.

அரந்தை கெடுத்து வரந்தருமிவளென ஆடித்திங்கள் கவையினுங்கோர் —*Uraipperukaṭṭ rai*, 3.

61 டிக்கும-[1]
62 தொழிஞ்-
63 ஞொமென்-
64 று கல் எ-
65 ழுதி நா-
66 ட்டிக் கொ
67 டுத்தார்
68 திருவுள்-
69 ளம் பண்-
70 ணியருளி-
71 ய மார்-
72 க்கமெ [॥*]

Translation.

Hail! Prosperity! In the eighth year current opposite to the second year of the prosperous reign of Kulaśēkhara-Kōyilādhikārigaḷ, when Jupiter was in Karkaṭaka and in the month of Vriśchika, Kulaśēkhara-Kōyilādhikāri, who having taken the four *taḷis*[2] and Tirukkuṉṟappōḻai (with him), was pleased to be present in Neḍiyataḷi, and was pleased to grant, after informing the ministry, as an *aṭṭip-pēṟu* with libation of water, the forty *kalam* of paddy accruing annually from Peruneydal along with the *arandai* of Peruneydal. He was pleased to order the feeding (of persons) and (the reading of) the Mahābhārata from (this) annual income. (The members of the assembly of) the village of Peruneydal and the *poduvāḷ* received as *aṭṭippēṟu* the annual income of forty *kalam* and *arandai.* Kōyilādhikārigaḷ issued a royal order to the chieftains of the inhabitants of Kāpālimaṅgalam and Muttūṟu; Rāman-Tāyaṉ of Kāmakkāṇappaḷḷi and Nārāyaṇaṉ-Nārāyaṇaṉ of Kadamba-nāḍu as well as the *ūr-poduvāḷ* conjointly informed the [3]chieftains of (this) royal order; the chieftains of the inhabitants of these two villages came to the temple of Peruneydal and caused the fact that they, as stated in the royal order, shall refrain from obtaining the *arandai*, to be engraved on stone and had it set up.

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No. 13.—Quilon inscription of Kollam 278.

This record is engraved on a pillar set up in the compound of the Rāmēśvarasvāmin temple at Quilon. It is very much weather-worn and the inscription which is so illegible in many places as to render it difficult to trace its proper continuity as a whole, is given below in its incomplete state. Fortunately, however, the introductory portion which contains the main interesting details of the record is clear enough.

In the *Annual Report* for 1095 M. E., Mr. K. V. Subrahmanya Ayyar has made the following note on this inscription:—

'No. 54 of Appendix B comes from the Rāmēśvara temple at Quilon. It is dated in the month of Simha of the Kollam year 278 (A. D. 1103) and in the

1 அடிக்குமது in the sense of 'collecting' is rather rare. *Aḍukkuvadu* is a fee due to the Sirkar payable by a successor to property or tenure (*State Manual*). It also signifies the right retained by the proprietor from the purchaser.

2 This has been explained on page 43 *infra*.

3 Logan defines *pali* as an intermediary between the *koṉ* and the actual landholder.

2nd + 14th year of the king's reign, when Jupiter was in the sign Virgo. This yields A. D. 1087 for the accession of the king. That portion of the record which contains the name of the king is much damaged; but it can be tentatively read as Rāmar-Tiruvaḍi. The Kōyiladhikāri *i. e.*, the officer in charge of the king's palace who must have been a near relation of his, probably the senior prince, while staying in the palace at Paṇaiṅgāvu in Kurakkēṇi-Kollam (*i. e.*, Quilon) ordered certain grants of lands to be made to the temple of Rāmēchchuram, as an atonement for the enmity incurred with the Āryas. It is not quite clear who are meant by the term Āryas. Perhaps, there is here a reference to the Tamil followers of the Chāḷukya-Chōḷa king Kulōttuṅga I, who, at this time, invaded the south-western portion of the Peninsula (*South-Ind. Inscrs.* Vol. I, p. 144.) subdued the five Pāṇḍyas, burnt the fort of Kōṭṭāṟu and crushed the army of the Kēraḷas (*S. I. I.* Vol. I, p. 168). Since Quilon was an important place in the dominion of the Vēṇāḍu kings from the earliest times, it may not be unreasonable to take the Rāma-Tiruvaḍi of this record as one of its rulers, though the possibility of his being a member of the Chēra line is not precluded. And the temple of Rāmēchchuram might have been named after him. But if it were still earlier, it should have been founded by the Vēṇāḍu king Rāma-Tiruvaḍi who figures in the Kottayam grant of Sthāṇu-Ravi of the ninth century A. D.

Two other records belonging to a king called Kulaśēkhara-Kōyiladhikārigaḷ and Kulaśēkhara-Perumāḷ respectively have been copied at Peruneyil[1] and Tiruvālūr[2] and they have been published *ante*. The former is dated in the 8th year opposite to the 2nd year when the position of Jupiter was in the Karkaṭaka-rāśi, while the latter was issued in the year opposite to the same 2nd year when Jupiter stood in Makara. As the Quilon record also bears some illegible date (பதி . . மாண்டை)opposite to the same 2nd year, and as the script of the three different epigraphs is of about the same period, there is nothing improbable in identifying the three kings with one another. The planet Jupiter which was in the Makararāśi in the 2nd + 1st year (expired?) was correctly in Karkaṭaka six years later in the 2nd + 8th year; and as it had travelled on to Kanni by the time of the Quilon inscription, the date of that record can be only 2 years later than that of the Peruneyil epigraph, and its illegible date portion can therefore be calculated as 2nd + 11th year and not 2nd + 14th year, when Jupiter will have journeyed a few more houses farther off than Kanni.

It has to be noticed that while the records of Peruneyil and Tiruvālūr are expressly dated in the distinctive reign of Kulaśēkhara, the Quilon epigraph introduces a Śrī Kulaśēkhara-chakravartin who was the *Kōyiladhikāri* of [Rāma]-Tiruvaḍi[3]. The title of '*Chakravartin*' given to the former coupled with the fact that the other two records mention him as the reigning king (*tiruvirājyam chella-ninṟa*) seems, however, to point to the possibility that 'Rāmar-Tiruvaḍi' to whom Kulaśēkhara was the *Kōyiladhikāri* may refer to the god[4] at Quilon. A better interpretation is possible of considering Rāma-Tiruvaḍi-Kōyiladhikārigaḷ as the name of the

1. vide page 38 *supra*.
2 *Trav. Archl. Series*, Vol. IV, p. 145.
3. Another reading also seems possible—கோதரயர் திருவடி, who may have been an earlier namesake of Vīrarāyiravarman of A. D. 1645. (*Cochin Manual*, p 80)
4. *Tiruvaḍi* is a title applied to gods, kings, queens and saints, *cf.* Tirunandikkarai-Bhaṭāraka-Tiruvaḍi.

M

king and Kulaśēkhara-chakravartigaḷ as an *alias* (*āyiṉa*) or his regal title. If however, Rāma-Tiruvaḍi was the king and Kulaśēkhara, his *Kōyiladhikāri*, then who have to consider that both of them attained to their respective positions in the same year and that the latter while referring himself to the regnal year of his suzerain in the territory of Quilon, has styled himself as regular king in the more northern territory. Future discoveries can alone decide this point one way or the other; but it looks more probable that Kulaśēkhara of these records was a Chēra king and that Quilon was his southern outpost where he had encamped for some time in the palace at Paṉaiṅgāvu[1] at the time of the present record. The record further on states that there was a subordinate chief Vikkiramaṉ, who was administering the Quilon territory (*l.* 47-8), but unfortunately that particular portion is too damaged to furnish any clear information. It may be noted that the Cochin Rajas still style themselves as Kōyiladhikārigaḷ in documents relating to the landed property of temples,[2] their usual title being 'Perumbaḍappu Gangādhara Virakērala Tirukkōyiladhikārigaḷ.[3]

As regards the enmity with the Āryas for which the expiatory donation of offering worship in the Rāmēśvaram temple at Quilon was instituted by the king, it is not definitely known if the sin referred to was that of fighting with the invading forces of the Chōḷa king Kulōttuṅga I. As a Kshatriya, his *dharma* lay in fighting against his enemies and it could not have been a sin to be atoned for. No doubt Bālamārttāṇḍavarman, the Conqueror, organised the Murajapam and other ceremonies to wash off the sins of his 'wars of aggression', but here it was only one of defence. The term 'Āryas' may have probably been used to refer to brahmans or to *tavaiyāriyar* of other records, some of whom the king may have molested and maltreated either justly or wantonly, and that as an act of expiation for his outrage on members of the highest caste (the *bhūsurās*) connected with the temple management, he may have bestowed some gifts to the temple. The fact that 'Ārya-brāhmaṇas' (*ll.* 33-4) are stated to have mustered strong in the temple along with other State officers on the occasion of this gift, seems to favour this view. There have been many instances in which delinquent chiefs or kings either voluntarily or under the moral stress of public opinion as voiced by the religious corporations called *yōgams*, made ample amends for their acts of petty tyranny and coercion. Notable among these are the following cases recorded in the temple chronicles of Trivandrum, which bear a resemblance to the present incident:

(i) Vīra-Kēraḷavarman Tiruvaḍi[4] paid some land compensation to the survivors of certain Dēśikaḷ (brahman immigrants) whom he had murdered at Nilaimēlkunnu and also made a gift of 157 *kōṭṭas* of land and 30,000 *paṇam* to the Padmanābhasvāmin temple at Trivandrum for assaulting some temple servants;

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1. This palace also occurs in the Mamballi plate of Vallabhaṅgōdai (A. D. 974) -*T. A. S.*, Vol. IV, p. 9. *Uṇṇunīlisandēśam* (*c.* 1350) has in verse **74**:
   നേരേചിന്നെ പ്രിയസഖ പനങ്ങാവനത്തിന്നകംപ്പു-
   ക്കാരഃ വം കൊങ്ങേഖിലജഗതാം തൈരവീം തൈർവീം തം.
2. *Malabar Quarterly Review*, Vol. VIII, p. 117.
3. *Cochin State Manual*, p. 39.
4. *Trav. State Manual*, Vol. I, p. 264.

(ii) Vīra Mārttāṇḍavarman[1] made a similar expiatory donation to that temple for having put to death several men in the war that took place near Kiḷimānūr;

(iii) Vīra Ravivarman[2] bestowed some gifts to the temple at Trivandrum for wrongly appropriating properties belonging to the Kuruvai-*illam*; and

(iv) Vīra Rāmavarman[3] atoned for certain atrocities committed by him in Āykōṇam, Vīranarārāyaṇachēri and Puliyakuruchchi by making a gift of an elephant to the temple.

These penalties were called *garvakkaṭṭu* or amercement for highhandedness; and other similar instances may be multiplied. In all these cases, the question of expiation came in only when sins were committed on the king's own volition during wars of aggression or in petty acts of despotism, and it therefore seems probable that the incident recorded in the Quilon inscription may have been also of a similar nature.

One other point deserves mention, *viz.*, that in both this and the Peruneyil epigraphs the king is stated to have been accompanied by the four *taḷi*:

நாலுதளியையுந் திருக்குன்றப்போழையுங் கூட்டிக்கொண்டு நெடியதளி
யிருந்தருளி —*Peruneyil*,
நாலுதளியு மாயிரம் அறுநூற்றுவரும் இந்நாடுவாழ்க்கையான் ....
முதலாயுள்ள சாமந்தரும் திருக்கைக்கீழ் கூடியிருக்க —*Quilon*.

The version of the *Kēraḷōlpatti*[4] is that the brahman oligarchy which originally ruled Kēraḷa found itself incompetent to discharge its administrative duties satisfactorily owing to internal dissensions, that it tried the rule by 'protectors' or *Rakshāpurushas* (for short terms of three years) elected from the four villages of Panniyūr, Paravūr, Peruñjellūr and Cheṅganniyūr, in which had been located the four *kaḷakams* or electing assemblies representing the 64 *grāmams* of Kēraḷa, that finding this expedient also unsatisfactory, it got down Viceroys from adjacent countries to rule over them and afford protection, and that as a check on these selected kings, they finally formed four new assemblies at Iriñjālakuḍa, Mūḷikkaḷam Paravūr and Ayirāṇikuḷam, which were situated near enough to each other, unlike the original four which were so far apart as to impede the expeditious transaction of State business. These four new assemblies had their own meeting places called *taḷis*[5] (assembly halls) in the capital itself: *viz.*, Mēltaḷi (Mūḷikkaḷam), Kīḻtaḷi (Ayirāṇikkaḷam), Neḍiyataḷi (Paravūr) and Chingapurattaḷi (Iriñjālakkuḍal), which were controlled by their presidents called *taḷiyādirimār*, who were selected celibates from certain influential families. According to the Peruneyil inscription the king

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1. *The Trav. State Manual*, Vol I, p. 265.
2. Do. p 266
3. *Malabar Quarterly Review*, Vol. VIII., p. 123.
4. നാൻ തന്നെ വ്യാപരിക്കരുത എന്നു കല്പിച്ചു നിത്യകാര്യങ്ങൾ രാജാവോടുകൂടി പ്രവൃത്തിച്ചു. കോവിലകത്തിൽ സമീപത്തു തന്നെ ൪ കഴകത്തിന്നു കല്പിച്ചു പരിഷക്ക ഇരിപ്പാൻ ൪ തളി-യും തീർത്തു. മേൽതളി, കീഴത്തളി, നെടിയത്തളി, ചിങ്ങപുരത്തളി, ഇത്തളിയിൽ ഇരുന്നു രക്ഷിക്കുന്നവർ തളിയാതിരിമാർ— *Kēraḷōlpatti*, p. 14.
5. Compare நாலுதளியும் தளிக்கடுத்த கிராமம்— *Epig. Ind.*, IV-295.

Kulaśēkhara-Kōyiladhikāri was at the time seated in the Neḍiyataḷi hall (at his capital?) surrounded by (the presidents of) all the four assemblies and (the president of) the Tirukkunnappuḻa-(sankētam) or the Edappaḷḷi chief (?) and issued an order making certain gifts in favour of the Peruneyil temple. This order was conveyed to the chief residents (*kuḍipati*) of two villages of Kāpālimaṅgalam and Muttūṟu by Kāmakkānappaḷḷi Rāman-Tāyaṉ and Nārāyaṇaṉ Nārāyaṇaṉ of Kaḍamba-nāḍu. It may be noted that the *taḷiyādiris* of the Neḍiyataḷi were selected from Iḷandurutti and Kaḍamba-nāḍu. Tirukkunnappuḻa seems to be identical with the village of the same name belonging to the Eḍappalli chief near Karttigaippalli in the Quilon Division. There is also another Iḷangunnappuḻa[2] in the island of Vaipin, the famous Subrahmaṇya temple of which was, before its absorption by the Cochin State, under the management of the Raja of Paravūr and an influential *yōgam* wielding high sacerdotal power.

It is not apparent why the royal writ relating to the Peruneyil temple should have been issued from the Neḍiyataḷi Assembly Hall instead of from the Mēṟṟaḷi belonging to Mūḻikkaḷam (Mūshikakkaḷam), which may be expected to have exercised its jurisdiction over Peruneyil, on account of its greater proximity, as it has done on such temples as Tiruvaṉvaṇḍūr, Tirukkākkarai and Tirunelli. Neḍiyataḷi and Mēṟṟaḷi[3] occurring in the records of Tirukkākkarai may perhaps have to be taken to refer to these assemblies rather than to any specific villages.

Text.

1	ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ [।*]	18	ரக்கெணிக் கொல்ல-
2	கொல்லந்தொ-	19	த்து பணங்காவி-
3	ன்றி யிருநூ-	20	ன் கொயிலகத்தி-
4	ற்றெழுபத்-	21	ருந்நருள ஆரிய-
5	தெட்டாமாண்-	22	ரொடு வந்ந விரொத-
6	டைக் கன்னியி-	23	த்தினு ப்ராயச்சித்-
7	ல் வியாழம் புக்-	24	த்தத்தினு புத்தன் அ-
8	க [சிங்ங ஞா] யிறு-	25	றையால் பதினாழி-
9	ஒன்பது சென்-	26	க்கொள்ளும் பறையா-
10	ற நாள் இரண்டா-	27	ல் நியதம் ஒரொப-
11	மாண்டைக் கெதி-	28	றைச் செய்து நெல்
12	ர் பதி [நொரா] மாண்டை-		*Second face.*
13	[ய் இ] ராமர்[5] திருவ-	29	இராமெச்-
14	டி கொயிலதிகா-	30	சுவரத்து
15	ரிகளாயின ஸ்ரீகு-	31	. . . . .
16	லசெகரச் சக்கி-	32	. . . . .
17	ரவர்த்திகள் கு-	33	. . . ஆரி-

1 *Trav. State Manual*, Vol. III. p. 598.
2 *Cochin Manual*, p 373.
3 *Trav. Archl. Series*, Vol. III. p. 172, 167.
4 Registered as No. 54 of the *Trav. Epig. Collns.* for 1095 M. E. (Also No. 53 of 1084).
5. Another reading கொராயர் seems possible. Compare also:

എപ്പൊഴും നിന്നടമകരളും രായിരക്ഷോണിപാലാ
കെൽപ്പാന്നീടും മഹിതചിറവാവീരനെക്കണ്ടുപോക.—*Uṇṇunīlisandēśam*, v. 116.

but this person was nearly two centuries later.

34 ய ப்ராஹ்மண-
35 ருங் கூடி-
36 யிருந்நட-
37 த்து . . பக்க-
38 ல் . . . .
39 யக்கங் கை-
40 யில்த் தி-
41 ருக்கை ந-
42 னைச்சருள
43 நான்கு த-
44 ளியு மா-
45 யி[ரம் அ]-
46 றுநாற் று-
47 வரும் [இன்]-
48 ணுடு வாழ்க்-
49 கையான் விக்-
50 கிரமனுன
51 . . . . .
52 க்கன் முத-
53 லாயுள்ள
54 சாமந்தரு-
55 ந் திருக்கை-
56 க்கிழ்க் கூ-
57 டியிருக்க-
58 த் திருக்கை
59 நனைச்ச[ரு]-
60 ளியாவிது [।*]
61 அச்செரி-
62 க்கல் காரா-
63 ண்மை செ-
64 த வெணாட்-
65 டு குமர-
66 னுதையவ-
67 ரம்மன்

Third face.

68 இ . . . . . .
69 . . . .
70 ஐந்நாழி கொள்ளு-
71 மிடங்கழியால் முப்-
72 பத்தறுகல நெல் வி-
73 ராமெசுரத்து மண்ட-
74 பத்தில் [கூட்டங்]-
75 கூடி யிருந்நதில்
76 இ[வ்வாண்டு] முதல் .
77 திரு . . . . வைக்கு-
78 ம் திருக்கூத்துங்
79 கூடிச் செ[ல்வது] [।*]
80 கிற்றடிச்சுவரத்-
81 து மெலொடித்தி . .
82 . லு செந்நெல் மு-
83 ப்பத்தறு கலம்-
84 . . . . லிப்படி
85 பதினெண்க் கல-
86 ம் நெல்லால் செ-
87 லவிடுவிது [।*] வைச்ச
88 நெல் பதினைங்கல-
89 த்தால் தொள்ளாயிர-
90 நாழி பலாக்காட்டு க-
91 ண்ணந் தெவன் செல-
92 விடுவிது [।*] தொள்ளா-
93 யிரநாழி மெல் இவ்-
94 வூர் (வூர்) சத்திபிரம-
95 ஞ் செல்விடுவிது [।*]
96 செல்வு முட்டிகின்றெ
97 . . . . மயாலஞ்ஞா-
98 ழி அரி தண்டபட்டு
99 செலவிடுவிது [।*] காராள-
100 ர் மூவருங் கூடி செரிக்-
101 கல் . . காராளரும் திரு-
102 க்குணவாததெவர் திருந-
103 டையில் கொண்டு அந்நாழி-
104 க்கு ஒக்கு மிட[ங்*]கழி
105 நானூற்று நாழி நெலாட்-
106 டை காராளரு செரிக்கல் கொ-
107 டுப்பது [।*] யிவண்ண[ம*]மை-
108 ச்சமைக்கு . . . கு-
109 ணவாயிரனும் யிக்கடை

Fourth face.

110 கடமையா-
111 ல் . . . .
112 ஒன்றும -
113 திச்சு ஒ-
114 க்கு . . .
115 -ன்றுநாழி
116 உரியால்
117 . . . .
118 யிருநாழி
119 அக்கிரம்
120 பதினாழி
121 இப்பெருமா-
122 ள் நடை சில-
123 விற்கு அவ-
124 ற்றிற்கு நா-
125 முரி கிற்ற-

126 டிச்சுரத்து
127 மொலொடிக்-
128 கு நாழூரி
129 . . கொடுத்-
130 து . க . ன்
131 ற மங்ங-
132 லத் திரவி
133 யிராயரன்[1]
134 கையெழுத்து [।*]
135 . . ன . .
136 ல
137 க்களுங்
138 யும் . .
139 . . . .
140 . . . .
141 மிசாநங்-
142 கையரடியார்
143 ஆறிக்கு . .
144 ச்சனெழுத்து [।*]
145 அறைசூர் ஆசா-
146 ரி கையெழுத்
147 து [।*] திருப்பெ-
148 ரூர் மறைக்-
149 க . . கண்டாச்ச-
150 ன் கையெ-
151 ழுத்து ஸ்ரீ [॥*]

No. 14—Quilon record of Kollam 513.

The subjoined inscription is engraved on the north base of the central shrine in the Rāmēśvarasvāmin temple at Quilon. It is in the Tamil language and in the same alphabet of a period somewhat later than Kollam 513 (A. D. 1357-8), in which the record is dated. It states that certain gardens belonging to the temple were redeemed by the temple trustees from the money given by Śāttaṉ Marudappiḷḷai of Kāyalil and that the trustees agreed to utilise the income from these gardens towards the expenses of providing certain offerings to the god and for lighting a perpetual lamp in the temple on behalf of the donor of the amount.

Text.[2]

1 சிறி கொல்லம் ௫௱௰௩ நாயினூர் திருவிராமீசுரமுடைய னயினு[ர்*] தெவ-
தானம் பண்டாரத்தார் தகைவாய் கிடந்து விடிவித்துக் கொண்ட வ-

2 யிராவணர் தொட்டம்(ம்) அறைக்கல் புரையிடம் வயலிற்புரையிடம் ஆக
மூன்று புரையிடத்துக்கும் எல்லையாவது [।*] கிழெல்லை முனைங்கட-

3 வத்துக்குப் பொகிற வழிக்கு மெற்கு தென்னெல்லை சிறைக்கு வடக்கு வ-
மெலெல்லை வாள்தடையார் குடியிருப்புக்கு கிழக்கு வடவெல்லை

4 மருமாண்டிக்கு பொரக[3] நாராயப்பெருவழிக்கு தெற்கும் ஆக இந்த நா-
ங்கெல்லைக்குட்பட்ட நிலத்துக்கு காயலில் சாத்தன் மருதப்பிள்ளை

5 கொண்டு பண்ட[ா*]ரத்தார் சாதனவாங்கி பலஇறைகளு மாற்றி இவர்
பக்கல் அச்சு பற்றி குடுத்து இறங்கல் மிட்கையில் இவற்கு ஆக இரு-
நாழி அரி-

6 சி அமுது படியும் ஒரு திருவிளக்கும் இடுவொமாகவும் [॥*] உருபிடத்தில்
மெல்படை நாலும் காயலி[ல்*] சாத்தன் நாயனூர் [மு]ம்மநால் [॥*]

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1 See foot note 5 on page 44 above.

2 Registered as No. 54 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1084 M. E.

3 Read பொகிற.

Translation.

The auspicious Kollam (year) 513.

The boundaries of the three plots (called) Vayirāvaṇaṉ-tōṭṭam, Aṟakkal-puraiyiḍam, and Vayaliṟ-puraiyiḍam which were redeemed by the temple trustees are the following:—

the eastern boundary (is) to the west of the path leading to Muṉaiṅgaḍavam, the southern boundary (is) to the north of the tank, the western boundary (is) to the east of the habitation of the *vāḷtaḍaiyar*, and the northern boundary (is) to the south of the big lane leading to Marudāṇḍi.

For the lands lying between these four boundaries, the trustees took money from Śāttaṉ Marudapiḷḷai of Kāyalil, executed the document, exempted the plots from taxes, redeemed them from *iṟaṅgaḷ* and agreed to give on his behalf two measures of rice to the temple for offerings and to light a sacred lamp in it.

The four upper courses in the *urupīṭham* are by Śāttaṉ Nayanār Mummaṉ of Kāyalil.

No. 15.—Quilon inscription of Kollam 516.

This record is engraved on the lintel of the stone doorway in front of the Rāmēśvarasvāmin temple at Quilon. It is in Tamil and is dated in Kollam 516, three years later than the one published above. It states that the door-frame and steps of the gateway (in stone) were the gift of Mayilaṉ Tiruvōttajāmam-aḻagiyār, the headman of Nāvalūr in Aṅgaimaṅgalam *alias* Vīrapāṇḍya-maṅgai-mānagaram, in Kuḍai-nāḍu.

Kuḍai-nāḍu is perhaps identical with Kuḍa-nāḍu of literature, which is mentioned as one of the twelve divisions where vulgar Tamil (*koḍuntamiḻ*) was spoken as opposed to the purer variety (*śendamiḻ*) which was current in and around Madura, the seat of the Tamil Academy. The modern equivalent of Kuḍanāḍu is the northern portion of Malabar comprising Coorg etc. The name of the donor is somewhat peculiar and was perhaps coined from the name of god Śiva 'who was beautiful at the time of the midnight worship'. *Kiḻavaṉ* means 'the headman of the village (*urimai-yuḍaiyavaṉ*), the suffix *kiḻamai* in the week-days also signifying that the particular planets were the lords of those days which went by their respective names.

Text.

1 ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ [।*] கொல்லம் ருாயகூ மாண்டு சித்திரைமாதம் இத்திருவாதில் திருநி-

2 லைகாலும் படியும் குடைநாட்டு[2] அங்கைமங்கலமான விரபாண்டியன் ம-[ங்]கை

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1 தென்பாண்டி குட்டங் குடங் கற்கா வேண் பூழி பன்றி யருவா வதன் வடக்கு— நன்றாய சீதம் மலாடு புனனாடு செந்தமிழ் சே ரேதமில் பன்னிருநாட் டெண்.

2 In a Cholapuram record of Kollam 519, occurs the following:
ஸ்ரீபாண்டிமண்டலத்து குடநாட்டு கங்கைமங்கலமான மதுரொதையப்பெருந்தெரு.

3 மானகரத்து நாவலூர் கிழவன் மயிலன் திருவொத்தசாமமழகியார்
4 செய்தத் திருப்பணி வ ௱௨௰௬ வ

Translation.

Hail ! Prosperity ! In the month of Chittirai in the Kollam year 516, the door-jambs and steps of this gateway are the charitable work of Mayilaṉ Tiru-vōttajāmam-aḻagiyār, the headman of Nāvalūr in Aṅgaimaṅgalam *alias* Vīrapāṇ-ḍiyamaṅgai-māṉagaram, in Kuḍai-nāḍu.

Tiruvelunnannur Records.

The Trivandrum Museum contains a set of copper plates, the thirty-eight leaves of which are beaten thin like olai leaves and are strung together through two holes and are kept between two thicker metal plates, looking quite like an ordinary cadjan manuscript bundle. The records incised on these thin leaves relate to the accounts of the temple of Tiruveḷunnannūr and range in date from the year Kollam 600 to Kollam 900. It looks as if they were engraved on copper from older *olai* documents without any arrangement in chronological sequence, the only object that was presumably aimed at being an attempt to ensure greater permanency to the temple transactions. The language and script of the records is Malayalam, as may naturally be expected in regard to documents that were consolidated only a couple of centuries ago during the tenure of office of a certain Kaṇṇan-Kaṇṇan of Maṇṇūr as the *poduvāḷ* of the temple assembly, the only noteworthy point being the use of declensional endings such as *āṉ*, *ār* in some cases like *koduttān* and *koḍuttār*, unlike modern Malayalam, which completes discards them.

Of the many separate transactions that have thus been brought together and which number more than fifty, only half a dozen are of some slight importance as they mention two royal names, *viz.*, Vīra Kōdaivarman of the Iḷaiyiḍattu-svarūpam who figures in two of the records, while two other documents mention a Vīrakēraḷa-Rāmavarman of Kīḻappērūr. The Iḷaiyiḍattu-svarūpam was the name of one among those small chieftaincies called Vaḍakkumkūṟu, Tekkumkūṟu, Paṇḍaḷam, Iḷaiyaḍam, Quilon, Ambalapuḻa, Eḍappaḷḷi etc. which flourished in detached independent units all over Vēṇāḍu until the time of the Travancore king Mārttaṇḍavarman, the Great (Kollam 904-933), who by dint of his successful wars and diplomacy either conquered these principalities or managed to annex them to his dominions and thus consolidated the Travancore State to its present proportions. Before the annexation of their territory to Travancore in Kollam 916, the Iḷaiyaḍam family held sway over the tract represented by the modern taluks of Śheṅcōṭṭa, Vaḷḷiyūr, Koṭṭārakara, Pattanāpuram and Nedumaṅgāḍ;[1] and Vīra-Kōdaivarman of the Tiruveḷunnannūr records must have been a Koṭṭārakara chief who reigned at least from Kollam 711 to 715. The two records attributed to his reign

1 *Trav. State Manual*, Vol. I, p. 340-1.

state that his subordinates (*tiruvaḍikkamainda-kōyilkanmi*) gave some lands for the conduct of the morning service (*ushahpūjā*) and for the maintenance of an arch of lamps (*tōraṇam*) in the temple of Eṇḍalaiyappaṉ at Tiruveḷunnannūr.

The other two records referring themselves to the reign of a king called Vīrakēraḷa-Rāmavarman of Kīḻappērūr are dated in the Kollam years 663 and 793 respectively, and it therefore leads to the presumption that as these records are separated by an interval of 130 years, the kings figuring in them, though of the same name, may be two different individuals. But from the fact that the day and month of both these documents is the same (Kumbham 8) and also because one of them containing the date 663 is somewhat peculiarly worded without a specific prefixion of the Kollam era, *viz.*,

'തിരുവെള്ളന്നെന്നൂർ പട്ടാരകർക്ക നൗന്നുധന്ന മാണ്ടു കുംഭഞായെറു വ്വ ചെന്ന നാൾ'

it appears probable that the year 663, if it is not a scribe's mistake for 793 of the other record, may refer to the number of years that had elapsed since the Tiruveḷunnannūr temple was constructed; and if the temple may be presumed to have come into existence in about Kollam 130, 663 years after its erection would coincide with Kollam 793, the year quoted in the other record, and both the records would then belong to the time of the same Vīrakēraḷa-Rāmavarman. That this practice was not uncommon of dating temple records from the date of construction of those particular temples which inaugurated a local era, may be seen from other instances in the cases of the [1] Tirukkaṇḍiyūr, Tirukkākkarai and Tirukkulaśēkharapuram temples. It may however be noted that no other document in this set of copper-plates relating to the Tiruveḷannannūr temple is similarly dated.

Taking then Kollam 793 as the date of the two records, it is found that no Vēṇāḍu king called Vīra-Kēraḷa Rāmavarman is known to have lived at about this time. Vīrakēraḷa Rāmavarman will ordinarily signify king Rāmavarman, the nephew of a predecessor called Vīra-Kēraḷavarman; and so far as we know at present, Vīra-Kēraḷavarman was followed by a king named Rāmavarman in the following instances only:—

(i) [2] Vīra-Kēraḷa Mārttāṇḍavarman of Kollam 610 was succeeded by a Rāma Mārttāṇḍavarman whose record is dated in Kollam 614,

(ii) [3] Veṉṟumaṇkoṇḍa Bhūtalavīra Vīra-Kēraḷavarman of Kollam 720 had a contemporary or successor called Veṉṟumaṇkoṇḍa Bhūtalavīra Rāmavarman in about Kollam 722.

(iii) [4] Uṇṇi Kēraḷavarman (Kollam 893-99) was followed by his brother Rāmavarman (Kollam 899-903)

but none of these periods corresponds with either Kollam 663 or 793 of the two records noted above.

From the fact that the Tiruveḷunnannūr set does not mention any Vēṇāḍu kings but only a Vīra-Kōdaivarman of the Iḷayaḍattu-svarūpam, it is not improbable that, if the date in the record is assumed to have been correctly given as

1 *Trav. Archl. Series*, Vol. II, p. 78.
2 *Trav. State Manual*, Vol I, p. 266 and No. 1. of 1084.
3 *Ibid*, Vol. IV, p. 104.
4 *Trav. State Manual*, Vol. I, p. 327.

Kollam 793, the Vīra-Kēraḷa Rāmavarman of these records also may have been a local chieftain and not a Vēṇāḍu king, even though his name was connected with the house of Kīḷappērūr and has not been specifically mentioned with other distinguishing epithets.

Some of the records included in the bundle give the names of the following varieties of documents:—

1. karpūravila-ōla,
2. tōraṇa-taragu-vila-ōla,
3. dāna-ōla,
4. paḍukala-ōla,
5. naḍamāḍu-paḍukala-ōla,
6. prāśchitta-ōla,
7. oṟṟi-ōla,
8. nēoṟṟi-ōla,
9. amiśavila-ōla,
10. kaḍavāyppa-ōla or muṟi,

whose names are derivable from the special nature of or purposes for which those transactions were made. The records now published belong to the first two classes.

Karpūra-vila-ola is a document relating to *karpūravila* or price of camphor; but it is not definite if this income represented any seigniorage on the sale or export and import of camphor. It occurs in the nature of a tax in an inscription[1] of Rājarāja I at Pañchapāṇḍavamalai: 'கற்பூரவிலையும் . . . . ஒழிஞ்சு சாச னம்செய்தபடி. It is understood from a Kākatīya record[2] found at Mōṭṭuppaḷḷi in the Guntur district, that camphor, both country-made and imported from foreign countries (like China), was treated as dutiable commodity and that a tax of 15/16 *paṇam* was levied on a pagoda's worth of that article in the time of Gaṇapatidēva in the 13th century. In the present case, it appears possible that some provision was made in the shape of lands to meet the expenses of supplying camphor for the daily temple worship and that the lessees of the particular lands set apart for this item of supply bound themselves to measure out the stipulated quantity of paddy as *karpuravila-nellu* for the purchase and supply of the indispensible camphor to the temples. The following extract from a record belonging to the same temple at Tiruveḷunnannūr will make this clear:

'നെല്ലിപ്പറമ്പിൽ ഇന്നാർപേരിൽനിന്ന നെല്ലിപറമ്പിൽ തേചത്തിന്ന കപ്പൂരവി ല കല്ലിച്ച ചെമ്പുകെട്ടിയാൽ വരവേണ്ടും കപ്പൂരവില നെല്ല ൫ ൦ ചൈതാക' and

'കണ്ണങ്ങോട്ടു തെചത്തിന്ന വാളെക്കോട്ടു ഇന്നാർപേരിൽനിന്ന കപ്പൂരവില കല്ലി ച്ച ആണ്ടുവരവും ചെമ്പുകെട്ടിയാൽ വരവേണ്ടും കപ്പൂരവില നെല്ല ൫ ൦ ചൈതാക'

These documents are classified as *Karpūravila* in the margin of the copper leaves.

1, *Epig. Indica*, Vol. IV, p. 138.

2. *Ibid*, Vol. XII, p. 197, 'कर्पूरमुनकू चीनकर्पूरानकु मुत्यालकू वेल ग १ कि ९ ≡॥''

Tōraṇa-taragu-vila-ōla— *Tōraṇa* is the '*tōraṇa-viḷakku*' (the arch of lamps) or the '*dīpamālā*' (the garland of lamps) that is put up in front of the entrance to temples and *taragu* is a document or lease; so that the full term signifies a deed assigning some lands on *viḷakku-pāṭṭam* tenure to an individual who was required in exchange therefor to maintain the arch of lamps lighted daily or on festive occasions according to the terms of his agreement. From the way in which the word has been used in another record, *tōraṇa* seems to have connoted also the land intended for this item of service.

തിരുവെള്ളന്നെന്നൂർ എണ്ടലെയപ്പെന്ന തോരണം വച്ചുക്കൊള്ളുമാറും കല്പിച്ചു തോരണത്തരകം എഴുതി കൊടുത്താൻ. ... ഇത്തോരണത്തിന്നു എള്ളുക ... ... തോരണത്തിനകത്തു ഒള്ള ... ... മുക്കാൽവട്ടത്തു ആവണിസംക്രാന്തിവിളക്കിന്നും വിഷുവിളക്കിന്നും തിരിയും കൂട ......

It may be noted that Tōraṇattōṭṭam was the name of a garden in the Kottayam plates of Sthāṇu-ravi, where the particular garden may have been assigned for such specific service. A contribution called *tōraṇa-kāṇikkai* occurs in Tamil records. In the Veḷḷāṇi inscription of Vīra-Rāmavarman the limits of the land that was endowed to the temple were marked off at their four corners by the erection of *tōraṇas*, which seem to signify not ornamental archways but stone posts or pillars as boundary stones. This practice of demarcating temple property was common also in the Tamil districts, where stone slabs bearing the representations respectively of the trident (*tiruchchūlattāpanam-śeydu*) and the discus (*tiruvāḻikkal-nāṭṭi*) were used in respect of Śiva and Vishṇu temples.

The word *tavayāriyar* has undergone some change from Sanskrit on adaptation to the vernacular. *Tavai* is derived from the Sanskrit word *sabhā* by the usual substitution of *ta* for *sa* in Malayalam, and the equally common change of *bhā* into *pai* or *vai* (*cf.* Tam. *avai*); while the word *āriyar* is the Sanskrit *ārya* 'a respectable man.' *Tāvayāriyar* may therefore be considered as synonymous with the '*sabhai-perumakkaḷ*' or 'the great men of the assembly' of other records.

The proper names occurring in the records are:—

Tiruveḷunnannūr	is Veḷinallūr in the Kottarakara taluk
Âdichchanallūr	is in the Quilon taluk
Karakuḷam	is in the Nedumangad taluk
Muṭṭakkāyal	is probably Muṭṭakkāvu in the Quilon taluk
Kīḻapperūr	is in the Chirayinkil taluk
Ilaṅguḷam	is perhaps the village in the Quilon taluk
Peruṅguḷam	is in the Kottarakara taluk
Umayallūr	is probably Umayanallūr in the Quilon taluk
Kunnummēl	the Kilimanur chief was known as 'Kunnummēl Rājā.'
Kārimarugu	
Kariviḷa	
Karakkāḍu	Karikkōḍu is in the Quilon taluk.
Tōṭṭamaṇ	

No. 16—Record of Vira Kodaivarman of Kollam 711.

Text.[1]

1 കൊല്ലം ൭൱൰൧-മാണ്ടു മേടമാസം ൪ തിരുവെള്ളുന്നെന്നൂർ മുക്കാൽവട്ടത്തു എ-

2 ണ്ടലെയപ്പെൻ തിരുമുമ്പാക തവയാരിയെർ തിരുക്കൂട്ടമാക ഇരുന്നരുള ക്കൽപ്പിച്ചു എഴുതിയ കണക്ക[।*] കാരിമറുക ചീവിതത്തിൽ ഇളംകുളംതെചത്തു ചെറുപെരുംകു-

3 ളത്തു കുന്നുമ്മെൽ ഇളെയടത്തു ശ്രീവീരകോതവമ്മെർ തിരുവടിക്കമെന്ത കൊയിക്കന്മികെൾക്കു ഒള്ള നാലതൊട്ടിന്നകം ഉള്ളിട്ട തടി പലവിനാൽ നിലം ൪൰൫ ൈ വിത്തുപ്പാട്ടം ഇതിന്നു ഇ-

4 രുകരെയും ചരിഞ്ഞ കരപ്പുരെടങ്ങളും കരെക്കാട്ടും തൊട്ടമണും കരെക്കുടിപതിയെയും കൂടി തിരുവെള്ളുന്നെന്നൂർ എണ്ടലെയപ്പെന്നു ഉഷപൂജവകെക്കു കൽപ്പിച്ചു തിരുവെള്ളുന്നെന്നൂ-

5 ർ എണ്ടലെയപ്പെൻെറ തിരുനടെയിൽ എഴുതിവച്ചു കൊടുത്താർ ശ്രീവീരകോതവമ്മർ തിരുവടിക്കമെന്ത കൊയിക്കന്മികെൾ തിരുവെള്ളുന്നെന്നൂർ എണ്ടലെയപ്പെന്നു ഇമ്മാക്കമെ [॥*]

Translation.

On the 4th day of the month of Mēḍam in the Kollam year 711, the *tavaiyāriyar* having met in a body in the entrance-hall of the temple of Tiruveḷunnennūr in the presence of god Eṇḍalayappan wrote up the following account:

The following lands in Cheruperuṅguḷam of Iḷaṅguḷam-dēśam in Kārimarugu-jīvitam belonging to the subordinates of śrī Vīra-Kōdavarman-Tiruvaḍi of Kunnummēl-Iḷaiyaḍam, namely—

the lands comprising many *taḍi* (in extent) and having a sowing capacity of 45 *paṟa* of paddy seed inclusive of the arable lands, the compound sites on the slopes, Karakkāḍu, Tōṭṭamaṇ and also the tenants, were provided for the expenses of the early morning *pūja* of the god Eṇḍalayappaṉ of Tiruveḷunnannūr and the subordinates of śrī Vīra-Kōdavarman gave this in writing in this manner to the god Eṇḍalayappan at Tiruveḷunnannūr.

No. 17—Record of the Kodaivarman of Kollam 715.

Text.[2]

1 ൭൱൰൫ മാണ്ടു മിതുനമാസം ൪൬- തിരുവെള്ളുന്നെന്നൂർ മുക്കാൽവട്ടത്തു വാതിൽമാടത്തിൻകൽ എണ്ടലെയപ്പെൻ തിരുമുമ്പാകെ തവെയാരിയർ തിരുക്കൂട്ടമാക ഇ-

2 രുന്തരുള ക്കൽപ്പിച്ചു എഴുതിയ കണക്കു [।*] ആതിച്ചനെല്ലൂർ മുതെൽനാട്ടിൽ ക്കരകുളം തെചത്തിന്നു കുന്നുമ്മേൽ ഇളെയടത്തു ശ്രീവീരകൊതെവമ്മെർ തിരുവടിക്കമെന്ത കൊയിക്കന്മികെൾക്കു

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1 Registered as No. 3 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1098 M. E,
2 Registered as No. 4 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1098 M. E.

3 ഒള്ള കരക്കുളം ഉള്ളിട്ട വയെൽത്തൊട്ടിന്നും കരപ്പുരെടങ്ങൾക്കും കൂട തിരു
വെള്ളന്നെന്നൂർ എണ്ടലെയപ്പെൻെറ തൊരണം വച്ചി രക്ഷിക്കുമാറു കൽ
പ്പിച്ച തൊരണത്തരകു വി-

4 ലെയൊലെയും എഴുതിക്കൊട്ടത്താർ കൊയിക്കന്മികൾ തിരുവെള്ളന്നെന്നൂർ
എണ്ടലെയപ്പെന്ന ഇമ്മാക്കമെ ഇന്നിലങ്ങൾക്കും പുരെയടങ്ങൾക്കും കൂട
ആണ്ടുവരയും ചെംപുകെട്ടി

5 ഇടങ്ങഴിയാല് തന്നു പൊരുമാറു കൽപ്പിച്ച കർപ്പൂരവില നെല്ല ൭ ൧ ൫ ൫
ചൈതാക [॥*]

Translation.

On the 4th day of the month of Mithunam in the (Kollam) year 715, the *tavuyāriyar* having met in a body in the entrance-hall of the temple of Tiruvelun-nannūr in the presence of the god Endalayappan, wrote the following account:—

The lands in Karakulam-dēśam in the Mudel-nādu of Ādichchanallūr belonging to the subordinates of (the chief) Śrī Vīra-Kōdaivarman-Tiruvadi of Kunnumēl-Ilaiyadam, namely:

the lands of Karakkuḷam inclusive of the fields, gardens and compound sites, were provided for the maintenance of an arch of lamps (*tōranam*) to the god Endalayappan of Tiruvelunnannūr and a deed (*tōranataraguvilai-yōla*) was drawn up and given by the servants (*kōyilkanmi*) to the god of the temple.

The quantity that was agreed to be measured annually by the *śembukaṭṭi-idangali* (copper-measure of the temple) from those lands was *7 para* and 5 *idangali* of good paddy as *karppūra-vila*.

No. 18.—Record of Vira Kerala-Ramavarman.

Text.[1]

1 തിരുവെള്ളന്നെന്നൂർ പട്ടാരകെക്കു ൱൲൯ മാണ്ടു കുംപഞായറു ൪ ചെന്ന
നാൾ ആതിച്ചനെല്ലൂർ മുതെൽനാട്ടിൽ കരിവിളെ ദെശത്തിന്ന കീഴപ്പെ-

2 ട്ടുർ ശ്രീവീരകെരളരാമവമ്മർ തിരുവടിക്കമെന്ത കൊയിക്കന്മികൾക്കു ഒള്ള ക
രിവിളെയും മെൽമണ്ണും ഉള്ളിട്ട വയെൽത്തൊമ്മിന്നും കരപ്പുര-

3 ംപിന്നും കരപ്പുരെയടങ്ങൾക്കും കൂടെ തിരുവെള്ളന്നെന്നൂർ എണ്ടലെയപ്പെ
ൻെറ തൊരണം വച്ചു രക്ഷിക്കുമാറും കൽപ്പിച്ചിത ഇതിന്നു എല്ലക കിഴക്കു

4 കരക്കുളത്തിന്നും പെടാതത്തു തെക്കു കടെലാത്തൊരണത്തിന്നു പെടാതത്തു പടി
ഞ്ഞായിറു മന്നെൻചിറെക്കു പെടാതത്തു വടക്കു കരിവിളെ എണ്ടലെ-

5 യപ്പെൻകാവിന്നും പെടാതത്തു ഇന്നാൽ എല്ലകെക്കകത്ത അകപ്പെട്ട ഉൽപ
ത്തിക്കു ആണ്ടുവരവും ചെംപുകെട്ടിയ ൭ യാൻ തന്നു പൊരിമാറു കൽപ്പി-

6 ച്ച കർപ്പൂരവില നെല്ല ൭ ൧ ൫ ൫ ചൈതാക ശ്രീ [॥*]

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1 Registered as No. 5 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1098 M. E.

Translation.

In the 663rd year of the god Bhaṭṭāraka of Tiruveḷunnannūr when 8 days of Kumbha had expired, the following lands belonging to the subordinates of king Śrī Vīra-KēraḷaRāmavarman-Tiruvaḍi of Kīḻappērur, namely:

Kariviḷe, Mēlmaṉ inclusive of fields, arable lands and compound sites were given for the maintenance of a *tōraṇa* (an arch of lamps) to god Eṇḍalayappaṉ in Tiruveḷunnannūr.

The boundaries of these lands are (the following):

in the east, up to Karakuḷam,
in the south, up to the lands called the Kaḍelā-tōraṇa,
in the west, up to Mannenchiṟai, and
in the north, up to Eṇḍalayappān-kāvu in Kariviḷe.

From the produce from the lands lying between these four boundaries the annual rent which was to be measured by the *śembukaṭṭiya-paṟa* (copper *paṟa* of the temple) as *karppūravila-nellu* was fixed at 7 *paṟa* and 5 *iḍangaḷi* of good paddy.

Prosperity!

No. 19.—Record of Vira Kerala-Ramavarman of Kollam 793.

Text.[1]

1 [2] ൭൱൯൰൩ മാണ്ടു കുമ്പഞായറു ൮ ചെന്ന നാൾ തിരുവെള്ളുന്നെന്നൂർ മുക്കാ
ൽവട്ടത്തു വാതിൻമാടത്തിംകൽ എണ്ടലെയപ്പെൻ തിരുമുമ്പാകെ തവെ
യാരിയെർ തിരുക്കൂട്ടമാക ഇരുന്ന-

2 രുളിക്കൽപ്പിച്ചു എഴുതിയ കണക്കു [।*] മുട്ടെക്കായിൽ തെചത്തു മെൽപ്പടി
എലായിൽ കീഴപ്പെരൂർ സ്രീവീരകെരള രാമവമ്മെർ തിരുവടിക്കമെന്ത
കൊയിക്കന്മികെൾക്കു ഒള്ള തടി പലവിനാൽ

3 നിലം ൮൯൩൭ വിത്തുപാട്ടം കൂട തിരുവെള്ളുന്നെന്നൂർ എണ്ടലെയപ്പൻ ഉഷ
പൂജെക്കു വകെയായിക്കൽപ്പിച്ചു കൊട്ടത്താർ സ്രീവീരകെരളരാമവമ്മെർ
തിരുവടിക്കമെന്ത കൊയിക-

4 ന്മികെൾ തിരുവെള്ളുന്നെന്നൂർ എണ്ടലെയപ്പെന്ന ഇമ്മാക്കമെ [।*] ഇന്നില
ത്തിന്നു എളുക കിഴക്ക മുന്നിക്കുളത്തിൻെറ വരമ്പിന്നു പടിഞ്ഞായെറു
തെക്കു ഉമെയെല്ലൂർ തെവെരെടെ ചാന്തിനി-

5 ലത്തിന്നു വടക്കു പടിഞ്ഞായെറു ഇലഞ്ഞിക്കെൽക്കു കിഴക്കു വടക്കു ഇടത്തുരു
ത്തുവരംപിന്നു തെക്കു ഇന്നാലു എള്ളകെക്കകെത്ത അകപ്പെട്ട തടി പലവി
നാൽ നിലം ൮൯൩൭൦ ഉഷപൂ-

6 ജെക്കു വകെയായിക്കൽപ്പിച്ചു എഴുതിച്ചുകൊണ്ടാർ തിരുവെള്ളുന്നെന്നൂർ എ
ണ്ടലെയപ്പെൻ കൊയിക്കന്മികളൊം ഇമ്മാക്കമെ [॥*]

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1 Registered as No. 6 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1098 M. E.

2 A symbol of Kollam has been engraved at the end of the plate previous to this and it has to be prefixed to the year 793 of this record.

Translation.

On the 8th day expired of the Kumbha month of the Kollam year 793, the *tavaiyāriyar* met in a boby in the entrance-hall of the temple of Tiruveḷunnannūr in presence of god Eṇḍalaiyappan and wrote the following account after deliberation:-

The subordinates of Vīra-Kēraḷa Rāmavarman-Tiruvaḍi of Kīḻappērūr gave lands many *taḍi* (in extent) and having the sowing capacity of 45 *paṟa* of seed in Muṭṭakkāyil-ēḷāy in the same *dēśam* for the early morning worship of god Eṇḍalayappan at Tiruveḷunnannūr.

The boundaries of this land are:—

the east (limit) is to the west of the Mūññikkuḷam tank,

the south (limit) is to the north of the land belonging to the *śānti* (priest) of the god at Umayallūr,

the west (limit) is to the east of Ilañjikkal, and

the north (limit) is to the south of Iḍatturutti-paṟambu.

The temple officials of god Eṇḍalayappan at Tiruveḷunnannūr had this land lying between these four boundaries and (having a sowing capacity) of 45 *paṟa* entered (in the account), for (the expenses of) the early morning worship of the god.

No. 20.—A record dated in Kollam 878.

The subjoined record dated in Kollam 878 has no special importance attached to it except that it shows how a case of assault on the person of certain temple servants (*piḷḷar*) was adjudged two centuries ago, how some compensation in cash for the outrage was demanded from the assailant a certain Śankaran-Kaṇḍan of Iḍamana, probably a temple official, and how some landed property was accepted in exchange, the annual rent from which was credited to the temple revenues.

It is noteworthy that the expiation or *prāyaśchitta* for untoward happenings generally took the form of some penitent charity to the local temple and that the aggrieved party did not come in for a share of the amount of compensation. Although there may be some justification for appropriating the amount to the temple in this particular instance, where the penalty demanded was for the ill-treatment of some temple servants; in many other cases also, where individuals quite unconnected with temples received injury culminating even in man-slaughter, the accused were let off cheaply with the apparently light punishment of having to burn perpetual lamps in temples. The purely accidental and entirely unintentional nature of the offences was of course taken into account to temper the severity of the criminal law of those times; but it is not understood why the injured parties or their survivors were not granted any portion of the levied penalty, as would have been reasonable and even equitable to expect. Lighting of lamps in temples had perhaps its own moral value for both the parties, but the more practical aspect of utilising a portion of the fines towards making amends to the affected party may have been given some consideration. It is not impossible that this was also attended to in

addition to the purely religious expiation provided for in many of the temple records noticed in the[1] *Madras Epigraphical Reports*, though it did not find specific mention in records relating to the temple gifts. The *State Manual*[2] quotes an instance from the chronicles of the Padmanābhasvāmin temple wherein Śrī Vīra-Kēraḷavarman (Kollam 520) is stated to have made a gift of some lands to the survivors of certain Dēśi-brahmans at Nilamēlkkunnu, who had been done to death at his instigation.

The fiscal term *aḍukkuvadu* is explained by Gundert as 'the right retained by the proprietor from the purchaser'. It was 'a fee generally varying from 10 to 20% of the *kāṇam* consideration, which a *kāṇamdār* had to pay to the *jenmi* or landed proprietor for renewing a *kāṇappāṭṭam* lease[3]. It also represented the small fee[4] of 10 *paṇam* due from the heir on his succession to the *virutti*-holding and which had to be paid to the Sirkar for the grant of the royal *nīṭṭu* or commission.

In this record Śaṅkaran-Kaṇḍan of Iḍamana who had to pay 240 *paṇam* for the *prāyaśchittam*-penalty supplemented it by an additional 20%, i. e., 48 *paṇam*, and in exchange therefor set apart two bits of land each of one *paṟa* sowing capacity and promised to measure out annually 7½ *paṟa* of paddy to the temple from the 8 *paṟa* of annual rent derivable from the lands in question. The *aḍukkuvadu* fee was for the renewals of the *pāṭṭam*, which the original proprietor of the lands had now to pay to the present owner (the temple), in his new capacity of a tenant-lessee. The advantage that he secured by the additional percentage of penalty was that he enjoyed the lands without the fear of eviction, so long as he paid the temple its share of paddy (*pāṭṭanel*) on these lands.

Text.[5]

1 [6]൮൱൭൰൮ മാണ്ടു ഇടവമാസം ൬ ചെന്ന വിയാഴാഴ്ച്ചയും രൊഹിണിയും പൂ
വ്വപ[ക്ഷ]ത്തു ത്രിതിയെയും ഇന്നാളാൽ തിരുവെള്ളന്നെ-

2 ന്തൂർ മുക്കാൽവട്ടത്തു വാതിൽമാടത്തിങ്ങൽ തവെയാരിയെർ തിരുക്കൂട്ടമാക
ഇരു[ന്നരു*]ള കല്പ്പിച്ച എഴുതിയ പ്രാച്ചിത്ത യൊല കരണമാവിതു[।*]
തിരുവെള്ളന്നെന്തൂർ പ-

3 ട്ടാരകെരെടെ പിള്ളെരെ ഇടമനെ ചംകരെൻ കണ്ടെൻ വെലൻ ചൈതതിന്നു
പ്രാച്ചിത്തം ചെയ്യുമാറു കല്പ്പിച്ച രാശിപണം ൨൱൪൰ അടുക്കുവതു
രാശി.

4 പണം ൪൰൮ കൂട രാശിപണം ൨൱൮൰൮ നും ചംകരെൻ കണ്ടെൻ തനിക്ക
പടിഞ്ഞായിററു ചിറവൂർക്കെലിൽ വെള്ളന്നെന്തൂർ തെചത്തു കാളവയെ
ലിൽ എലാ-

1 Madras Epigl. Report for 1918, and *Histl. Sketches of Ancient Dekhan*, p. 327.

2 *Trav. State Manual*, Vol. I, p. 264.

3 *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 318.

4 *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 336.

5 Registered as No. 7 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1098 M. E.

6 The word Kollam expressed by a symbol is found engraved on the leaf previous to this and has to be prefixed to the year 878 of this record.

5 ഴിൽ പുന്നിര്ട്ടിറെയിൽകല്ലൊള്ള കണ്ടംതടി ൧ നാൽ നിലം ൧൯൦ അ
തിന്നു കിഴക്കു ആട്ടറക്കണ്ടത്തിന്നു കിഴട്ടത്ത വട്ടക്കണ്ടം തടി ൧ നാൽ നി
ലം ൧൯൦ കൂട നി

6 ലം ൨൯൦ പ്രാച്ചിത്തമാക എഴുതിവച്ച തന്ന ആണ്ടൊന്നിനു വരവെണ്ടും
പാട്ടനെൽ വ൯൦ ഇ പണം ൨൮൮ന്നും ആണ്ടുവരവും തിരുവെള്ളന്നെ
ന്നൂർ പട്ട-

7 കാരകെരെടെ ചെംപുകെട്ടിയാൽ വരവേണ്ടും ഉപെയനെൽ ൭൯൮൮ ഇ
ന്നെൽ ൭൯൮൮ യും പ്രാച്ചിത്തമാക എഴുതി കൊട്ടത്താൻ ചംകരെൻ ക
ണ്ടെൻ തി-

8 രുവെള്ളന്നെന്നൂർ മുക്കാൽവട്ടത്തു തവപ്പൊതുവാൾ മണ്ണൂർ കുന്നെൻ കുന്നെന്നു
ഇമ്മാർഗ്ഗമെ [॥*]

Translation.

On the 7th day of the month of Iḍavam of Kollam year 878 corresponding to a Thursday with Rōhiṇī-nakshatra and tritīyā-tithi of the first fortnight, the *tavayāriyar* having met in a body in the entrance-hall of the temple at Tiruveḷunnannūr wrote this *prāchchittayōla* (document relating to expiation).

The compensation which Śaṅkaran-Kaṇḍan of Iḍamana was directed to render for having assaulted (*balamśey*) the servants of the god at Tiruveḷunnannūr was 240 *rāśi-paṇam*, which together with 48 *rāśi-paṇam* for *aḍukkuvaḍu* amounted to 288 *paṇam*.

For this amount Śaṅkaran-Kaṇḍaṉ gave the following lands belonging to him, namely,

one *taḍi* of land (having the sowing capacity) of one *paṟa* (of paddy) in Punnirattiraikkal of Veḷunnannūr-dēśam in Paḍijñāyaṟṟu-Chiravūrkkal and
one *taḍi* of land (having the sowing capacity) of one *paṟa* (of paddy) situated near Āṭṭaṟakaṇḍam to the east of the above;
in all, land (having the sowing capacity) of 2 *paṟa* (of paddy seed):

and from the annual rent of 8 *paṟa* of paddy derivable from these lands he agreed for the amount of 288 *paṇam* to provide 7 *paṟa* and 5 *iḍaṅgaḷi* of paddy to the temple, as measured by the *Sembukaṭṭi* (measure) of the god at Tiruveḷunnannūr to Kunnaṉ-Kunnaṉ of Maṇṇūr,[1] the *tavappoḍuvāḷ* of the same temple.

No. 21---A record dated in Kollam 878.

Text.[2]

First side.

1 ൮൭൮ മാണ്ടു ഇടവമാസം ൧൬ ചെന്ന ചനിയാഴ്ച്ചയും അത്തവും പൂവ
പക്ഷത്തു ഏകാദെശിയും അന്ന അസ്തമിച്ച ധനരാചി കൊണ്ടു ഇടമെ

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1 Kunnan-Kunnan of Mannūr figures in records dated in years so far apart as Kollam 710 and Kollam 878 and he could not therefore have been contemporaneous with the records themselves. It was during his time as *poduvāḷ* of the temple that many of the temple lease deeds seem to have been rewritten in his name. The word '*immārgamē*' at the end of each document shows that all the records were strung together in a collected form at that time.

2 Registered as No. 8 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1098 M. E.

2 നെ പൊററിക്ക്[1] സാക്ഷിക്കറി കൊടുക്കുന്നപ്പൊഠ ചെംപിലായിത്തുരുത്തി ക്കാട്ടു കിരുട്ടെൻ നാരായണെനും പുന്നക്കെൽത്തുരുത്തിക്കാട്ടു ചുവരെൻ നാരായെണെ-

3 നും അയ്യെൻറ കണിക്കെൽ തുരുത്തിക്കാട്ടു ചുവരെൻ നാരായെണെനും ചി- റെക്കരെത്തുരുത്തിക്കാട്ടു നാരായെണൻ ചംകരെനും മാടപ്പെള്ളിൽ ചം- കരെ-

4 ൻ കിരുട്ടനും കൂട തിരുവെള്ളന്നെന്തൂർ മുക്കാൽവട്ടത്തു മണ്ഡപത്തിൽ പട്ടമി- രുന്ന സാക്ഷിക്കറി കൊടുത്തതിന്ന ഇടമനെ ഇന്നാർ ചെംപിലായി ഇന്നാ-

5 ർക്ക കൊടുത്ത രാചിപണം വ൱ ർ൰ പുന്നെക്കെൽ ഇന്നാർക്ക സാക്ഷിക്കാ- ണത്തിന്ന കൊടുത്ത രാചി ൟ൰ അയ്യെൻറ കണിക്കെൽ ഇന്നാർക്ക കൊ- ടുത്ത

6 രാശിപണം ർ൰ ചിറക്കരെ ഇന്നാർക്ക കൊടുത്ത രാചിപണം ർ൰ മാട പ്പെള്ളിൽ ഇന്നാർക്ക കൊടുത്ത രാചിപണം ൲൱ വ൰ ഒരംവണ്ണം ജെന- ത്തിലെവരു

7 സാക്ഷിക്കാണവും പററിംക്കൊണ്ടു സാക്ഷിക്കറികെളും കൊടുത്ത ശെഷം ഇട- മനെ ഇന്നാർ തെവരെടെ നടെയിൽ വന്ന ദെവൻെറ സാക്ഷിക്കാണ- ത്തിന്ന ൟ൦ ക്കണ്ട-

8 ത്തിന്ന എഴുതിയ കരണവും നടെയിൽ വച്ച സമുതായത്തിലെറവരെടെ സാക്ഷിക്കാണത്തിന്ന പൊതുവാളിടെ കൈയ്യിൽ കൊടുത്ത രാചിപണം ൲ വ൰ ം വാങ്ങിച്ചുകൊണ്ടു ദെ-

Second side.

9 വെൻെറ സാക്ഷിക്കറിയും ദെവൻെറ നടെയിൽ വച്ചുകൊടുത്തിതു ഇടമനെ ഇന്നാർ സാക്ഷിക്കറിയും എടുത്തുക്കൊണ്ടു മണ്ണപത്തിൽ പിന്നെയും പട്ട- മിരുന്ന ശ-

10 ംകു കൊട്ടി കുടിക്കാരിയം ചെയ്യുമാറ എന്ന കൽപ്പിക്കുന്നപ്പൊഴും ജെനത്തി- ലവെരു സാക്ഷിക്കറി കൊടുക്കുന്നപ്പൊഴും സമുദായം ഉടെയ കാവുംപുറ- ത്തു ഇന്നാരൊടും

11 പിള്ളെയൊടും പൊതുവാളൊടും ചൊതിച്ചു സാക്ഷിക്കറിയും കൊടുത്തു ശംകും കൊട്ടിതു മെൽപ്പടി തിയതി ദെവെൻെറ സാക്ഷിക്കറിക്ക എഴുതിയ കണക്ക തിരുവെ-

1 The word *pōṟṟi* (a class of brahman) comes from *pōṟṟu* = to praise. It has been used in this ordinary significance in *Āchārakkōvai*, v. 64—*பிறப்பிஞள் போற்றி எனப்படுவார்.*

12 ളുന്നെന്നൂർ മൂക്കാൽവട്ടത്തു യൊഗം തികെഞ്ഞു[1] ഇരുന്നു എഴുതിയ സാക്ഷി-
ക്കുറിയാവിതു തിരുവെളുന്നെന്നൂർ മൂക്കാൽവട്ടത്തു പട്ടമിരിപ്പാൻ അവ-
കാശമാകുന്ന സ-

13 ാക്ഷികാണവും പററിക്കൊണ്ടു സാക്ഷിക്കുറിയും എഴുതിക്കൊടുത്താൻ തിരു-
വെളുന്നെന്നൂർ മൂക്കാൽവട്ടത്തു തവപ്പൊതുവാൾ മണ്ണൂർ കുന്നെൻ കു-
ന്നെൻ പൊതുവാൾ

14 കുഠരംവണ്ണം കൽപ്പിച്ച താന അനുഭവ അവകാശം കൊടുത്തു . . . .
ഇമ്മാക്കുമെ.

No. 22—A record dated in Kollam 839.

This document dated in Kollam 839 (=A. D. 1684) is of some judicial interest in that it contains information as to how the *samudāyam* or the temple assembly of Tiruveḷunnannūr disposed of a case where an individual of the fisherman caste (*mukkuvaṉ*) was guilty of theft from a Muhammadan's house and how the case was adjudged by the assembly and the offender brought to book by the confiscation of some of his property to the temple.

The accused was to have been arrested for the imposition perhaps of some monetary or other fines; but as he tried to evade the law by going in hiding, his property situated within the *dēśam* was confiscated, his documents were secured, and the pepper and other household chattel were properly appraised and the value recovered from him. The *ōlai* records relating to his transactions outside the *dēśam* were also kept in the custody of the temple.

It is interesting to note that the Muhammadan is called Kuñju-Pāvati(?), Kuñju being a pettish surname common in Malabar.

Text.[2]

1 തിരുവെളുന്നെന്നൂർ മൂക്കാൽവട്ടത്തു കുഞ്ചുപാവതിയെന്ന തുലുക്കനെകത്തു
പുക്കു കട്ട മുക്കുവെനെ തമൃതായത്തിൽ നിന്നു തട്ടത്താ-

2 റെ അവെൻ ഒളിച്ചുപൊയ ശെഷം അവെൻെറ വസ്തുവക്കൊണ്ടു പൊന്നാ
റെ അവനെപ്പിടിച്ചു തമൃതായത്തിലെക്കു കൊടുത്തതിൻെറ ശെഷം അ
വെൻെറ

3 വസ്തുവ ആയിട്ടൊള്ളതിൽ ദെശത്തിന്നു അകത്തു ഒള്ള വസ്തുവും കടവായിപ്പു
മുറികെളും ദെവെനു കൊടുത്തശെഷം അവൻെറ വീട്ടിയിന്നു കൊണ്ടു
പൊയ മുളകി-

1 The same expression has been used in the *Kēraḷōlppatti* and means that the Yōgam members met in full numbers in the Tiruveḷunnannūr temple.

2 Registered as No. 9 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1098 M. E.

4 ന്നും പാത്ത്രത്തിന്നും മററും പലവകെയായിട്ടു ഒള്ളതു ററപ്പെർപ്പെട്ടതിന്നും ക്രടപ്പറെഞ്ഞു തീർന്ന അതിൻെറ അത്ഥവും പററിക്കൊണ്ടു ദെശാത്തിന്നു പുറത്തൊള്ള കടവായിപ്പു ഓലെ-

5 കളും വൈപ്പിച്ചുംകൊണ്ടു നീട്ടും കൊടുത്തിതു ഹ്രനനമ്പഥൻ മാണ്ടു കന്നിഞായെറു വ്യന്നാദ കൽപ്പിച്ചമൈക്കു വെളുന്നെന്നൂർ സമുതായത്തിലെവക്കും ജെനത്തിലെവക്കും ക്രടി നീ-

6 ട്ടെഴുതി വിടുകെന്ന തിരുവിള്ളമായ നീട്ടു[॥*]

Translation.

The assembly (*samudāyam*) of the temple at Tiruveḷunnannūr apprehended a fisherman, who had committed theft, entering the house of a Muhammadan called Kuñju-Pāvadi; but when he concealed himself, his belongings were distrained (by the assembly). When later, he was caught and handed over to the assembly, such of his property as were within the *dēśam* and other documents relating to loans (*kaḍavāyppumuri*) were confiscated to the god (*dēvan*). The pepper and other household chattel which had been taken away were appraised and their value was recovered and the documents relating to his transactions outside (the jurisdiction) of the *dēśam* were also kept as deposit.

The above order was issued on the 26th day of the Kanni month of the (Kollam) year 839, and it was also ordered that a copy of this was to be communicated to all the members of the *samudāyam* and *mahājanam* of Veḷunnannūr.

No. 23—A record of Kollam 240?

The subjoined record belonging to the same set is dated in Kollam 240 and the other astronomical details of the date are Mīna 12, Wednesday, Makayiram-nakshatra, and pañchami-tithi; but the language and the subject matter of the deed do not justify such an early date for it.

It registers the grant of some lands by two individuals named Kaṇḍan-Kaṇḍan and Maṇiyan-Kaṇḍan of Chiravūrkkal for the maintenance of a *tōraṇa* in the temple at Tiruveḷunnannūr. The script in which the record is engraved is Malayalam, while the language which is also characterised by its Malayalam endings is of the prolix documentary style, consisting of:

(i) a preamble, as to when, how and where the transaction was made,

(ii) the stipulation made by the donors that their gift should be utilised for the *tōraṇa*,

(iii) the counter-agreement given by the temple that the gift will be properly set apart for its specific purpose,

(iv) details of the boundaries of the land in question,

(v) certain regulations in regard to the land.

(vi) the number of and occasions during which the lights were to be maintained in the temple, and

(vii) the signatures of the individuals witnessing the deed.

The following terms are used in the record:

Tōraṇattaragu-vilayōla—this refers to a document relating to a provision of land, from the rent of which a *tōraṇa* of lights had to be maintained in a temple; *tōraṇa* has also been used to refer to the land intended for the specific service.

Eḻakoḻe[1]—The meaning of *eḻa* is 'fine, penalty, exacted presents' and that of *koḻa* is 'forced contribution or fine'. *Eḻayum-koḻayum* is the expression generally used and it has been curtailed into '*eḻakoḻayum*'.

Śuraṅgam is a mistake for *śuṅgam*, 'tolls or customs duties'.

Taragu which here means 'a royal writ or a document' connotes also 'brokerage or commission'.

Text.[2]

First side.

1 ഉന്ന[ച]ധി മാണ്ടു മീനഞായറു ധഉ ചെന്ന പുതെനാഴ്ചെയും മകെയിരവും പഞ്ചമിയും ഇന്നാളാൽ തിരുവെള്ളന്നെന്തൂർ മുക്കാൽവട്ടത്തു വാതിൽമാട ത്തിൻംകൽ തിരുവെള്ള-

2 (വള്ള)[3]ന്നെന്തൂർ എണ്ടലെയപ്പൻ തിരുമുമ്പാക കൽപ്പിച്ച് എഴുതിയ തൊര ണത്തരകു വിലെയൊലക്കരണമാവിതു [।*] പടിഞ്ഞായിററുഞ്ചിറവൂർ ക്കെലിൽ വെള്ളന്നെന്തൂർ തെചത്തിന തി-

3 രുവെള്ളന്നെന്തൂർ എണ്ടിലെയപ്പെന്ന തൊരണം വച്ച കൊള്ളുമാറും കൽപ്പി ച്ച് തൊരണത്തരകും എഴുതിക്കൊട്ടത്താൻ ചിറവൂർക്കെലിൽ കണ്ടെൻ ക ണ്ടെനും മണിയെ-

4 ൻ കണ്ടെനും കൂട തിരുവെള്ളന്നെന്തൂർ എണ്ടിലെയപ്പെന്ന ഇമ്മാക്കമെ പടി ഞ്ഞായിററുഞ്ചിറവൂർക്കെലിൽ വെള്ളന്നെന്തൂർ ദെശത്തിന്ന തിരുവെള്ള ന്നെന്തൂർ എണ്ടി-

5 ലെയപ്പെന്ന തൊരണം വച്ചകൊള്ളുമാറും തൊരകും എഴുതിച്ചകൊണ്ടിതു തിരുവെള്ളന്നെന്തൂർ എണ്ടിലെയപ്പെൻ കണ്ടെൻ കണ്ടെനൊട്ടും മണി യെൻ കണ്ടെനൊ-

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1 Compare the following list of special privileges granted to kings in the *Kēraḷōlpatti:*
വാലും, തോലും, കണ്ണയും, കരിമ്പടവും, അങ്കവും, ചുങ്കവും, ഏഴയും, കൊഴയും, ആനയും, വാളും, വീരശൃംഖല, വിരുതു, വാദ്യം, നിയമവെടി, നെററിപട്ടം, പടവീട, പരക്കാംകൂത്തു, മുന്നിൽത്തളി, and ചിരുതവിളി.

2 Registered as No. 10 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1098 M. E.

3 Cancel the syllables വള്ള which have been repeated.

6 ട്ടം കൂ[ട*] ഇമ്മാക്കമൈ [।*] ഇത്തൊരണത്തിന്ന എള്ളുക കിഴക്ക ആറെയിൽ വെള്ളകറെക്ക പെടാതത തെക്കവാല്പവച്ച കവലെക്ക പെടാതതു പടിഞ്ഞായെറു കണ്ടായിക്കൊ-

7 ട്ടു തൊട്ടിന്ന പെടാതത വടക്ക പൊരയ്ക്കൊട്ടിന്ന പെടാതതു ഇന്നാലു എള്ളുകെക്കകത്തു അകപ്പെട്ട തൊരണത്തിന്നകത്തു ഒള്ള എഴകൊഴെയും[2] ചുരങ്കവും[3] തരകും കുടിപതി ഒരു പുരെ-

8 വച്ചിരിക്കുന്നതിന്ന ആണ്ടുവരവും തിരുവെളുന്നെന്നൂർ എണ്ടിലെയപ്പെന്ന കൊടുത്തിരിക്കുമാറു കൽപ്പിച്ച അമിചങ്ങൾ കുടിപതിയൊടു ആണ്ടുവരവും വാങ്ങിക്കൊള്ളുമാറു കൽപ്പിച്ച കു-

9 ടിയരി ഒ ന്ന ന്ന ഇരട്ടിയാൽ നെല്ലു ൧൦ ൨ ൽ ൭ംമെ മുക്കാൽവട്ടത്തു ആവണി സംക്രാന്തിവിളക്കിന്നും വിഷുവുവിളക്കിന്നും കൂടനാഴി ൨ നൈയ്യും ൨ ൩ ൭ ൧ വിളക്ക തിരിയു-

Second side.

10 ം കൂട ആണ്ടുവരവും മെൽപ്പടി തെചത്തു കുടിയിരിക്കുന്ന കുടിപതിയൊടു പററിക്കൊള്ളുമാറും കുടിപതിയൊടു വാങ്ങിക്കൊള്ളുമാറും കൽപ്പിച്ച മെക്ക

11 ഇതിന്ന അറിവും താക്ഷി മഞ്ഞിപ്പെഴെ ഇന്നാരിന്നാരും പെറെയിൽ കൊവിനൊൻ വിക്കിരമെന്നും ഇവർകെൾ അറിയ ഇത്തൊരണയൊല കൈ എഴു-

12 തിയ കണക്ക കുററക്കാട്ടു രാമെൻ അയ്യെപ്പെൻ കൈ എഴുത്തു [।*] ഇമ്മുഞ്ചൊല്ലപ്പെട്ട തൊരണയൊല എഴുതിവച്ചു കൊടുത്ത കണ്ടൻ കണ്ടെനും മണിയെൻ കണ്ടെനും കൂട ഒപ്പു[॥*]

Translation.

On the 12th day expired of the month of Mīna of the (Kollam) year 240 corresponding to a Wednesday with Makayiram-nakshatra and pañchamī-tithi, the following deed relating to *tōraṇa-vila* was written up in the entrance-hall of the temple at Tiruveḷunnannūr and in the presence of god Eṇḍalayappan:

1 Engraved below the line.

2 Compare: കൈകൾ രണ്ടു കൊണ്ടും
അടിപിടി പൊടിപാററി കോഴവാങ്ങിച്ചുമേന്മേൽ
കുടീകളെ മഥനം ചെയ്തുത്തമാഃ ജ്ജിച്ചിരുന്നു —*Umākēraḷam*, XVIII, 17.
and ഏഴയും കോഴയുമങ്ക ചുങ്കങ്ങളും
വാഴും നിലങ്ങടെ രാജഭോഗങ്ങളും —*Pātracharitam*.

3 Probably ചുംകവും.

Kaṇḍan-Kaṇḍan and Maṇiyan-Kaṇḍan of Chiravūrkkal together gave in writing the *tōraṇa-taragu* for the maintenance of an arch of lamps (*tōraṇa*) to the god Eṇḍalayappan at Tiruveḷunnannūr-dēśam, (a sub-division) of the western Chiravūrkkal.

In the same manner, god Eṇḍalayappan of Tiruveḷunnannūr also had the document drawn up with Kaṇḍan-Kaṇḍan and Maṇiyan-Kaṇḍan for the maintenance of the *tōraṇa* to Eṇḍalayappan of Tiruveḷunnannūr in Tiruveḷunnannūr-dēśam, (which was itself) in Padiññāṭṭu-Chiravūrkkal.

The boundaries of this (land for) *tōraṇa* are:
in the east, up to Veḷḷakkara in Aṟayil,
in the south, up to the crossing of roads,
in the west, up to the garden in Kaṇḍāyikkōḍu, and
in the north, up to Poraykkōḍu.

The fines, tolls and commissions on the lands lying within these boundaries which the tenants were required to pay to god Eṇḍalayappan of Tiruveḷunnannūr in a year was 6¼ *iḍaṅgaḻi* of rice (*kuḍiyari*), which doubled will be 1 *paṟa* 2½ *iḍaṅgaḻi* of paddy: and with this 2½ *nāḻi* of good ghee and 250 wicks for the Āvaṇi-saṅkrānti and Vishu lamps were ordered to be obtained every year from the tenants cultivating the land.

The witnesses who know this are certain persons in Mañjippuḷa, Gōvindan-Vikkiraman of Pereyil; and with the knowledge of these men, this is the signature of Rāman-Ayyappan of Kuṟṟikkāḍu, who wrote this *tōraṇa*-deed. This is also the attestation of Kaṇḍan-Kaṇḍan and Maṇiyan-Kaṇḍan, who had the above-mentioned document drawn up.

No. 24.—Kilimanur record of Kollam 343.

The subjoined inscription is written in Tamil on a set of six cadjan leaves discovered in the Vernacular Records Office within the Fort at Trivandrum and from the remarks made at the end of the 4th and the beginning of the next leaf, it is understood that the whole is a 'true copy' of a record engraved on a set of copper-plates whose whereabouts are not, however, now traceable. The 5th plate appears to have been missing from the set even at the time of the preparation of the cadjan copy and the inscription is also incomplete as it stops abruptly with the seventh leaf, second side, one or more sheets being missing at the end to complete the document. From the manner in which the cadjan copy has been written up at the rate of five lines on each page beginning from the inner side of the first leaf, it looks as if its scribe had been careful to copy down line for line and leaf for plate of the copper original. In the same Records Office were also found cadjan copies of several other copper-plate documents, whose originals had already been procured by this department for publication; *viz.*, Śrīvallabhangōdai and Māmbaḷḷi records edited on pages 9, 13 and 76 of Volume IV of the *Travancore Archaeological Series*. From these facts, it can be affirmed that the present cadjan copy is a trustworthy document, so far as its subject matter goes.

The original record must have been engraved in Vaṭṭeḻuttu characters of the same type as those employed in the Māmbaḷḷi plates of Vīra-Kēraḷavarman; but the copyist who prepared the cadjan *pagarppu* has been responsible for the large number of misreadings which are found to bristle all over the copy, mostly on account of his ignorance of the language used in the documents and also because of the inevitable confusion confronting the transcriber of Vaṭṭeḻuttu in the proper differentiation between several letters of its alphabet, which bear a close family likeness in their curvature and configuration. Notable among these errors of transcription are the following:

(i) *ṇa* has generally been confused with *ṭe* to whose form it approximates, and this has given rise to the incorrect readings: தெவடெகொடணும் for தேவங் கோவணும் (*l.* 5), காடுடெ கரையும் for காடுங் கரையும் (*l.* 7), குளமுடெ for குளமுங் (*l.* 18) etc; and in one instance it has been misread as *tu*, where பணியெழுதும் has been read in place of the correct பணியெழுங்(ம்) (*l.* 25):

(ii) *na* has been read as *pa* or *va* and *vice versa* by the plausible excuse of ignoring the final upward stroke of the latter letters; for example நடுடெ (*l.* 53) ought to be read as படுங (this word occurs in lines 7 and 18 of Mamballi plates of Kēralavarman); நடகாரம் (*l.* 11) ought to be படகாரம், while திருவாள்வாள்ப் பி ன்றெவாள் (*l.* 13) must evidently be திருநாள்(நாள்)ப் பின்றெநாள்:

(iii) the excusable but mistaken identification of the letters *pa* and *va* has commonly been indulged in, owing perhaps to the slovenly incision of the letters in the original itself:

(iv) the name of the king வீரஉதயமார்த்தாண்ட has been incorrectly read as வீரதெவமார்த்தாண்ட, because the vowel *u* was mistaken for the initial *e* curve for the second letter *ta* and the third letter *ya* was correspondingly read as *va* to suit the first letter so as to produce the sensible word *dēva*; but in line 56 this solution was not possible because of the clearer formation of the first letter and the misreading has therefore produced the word வீரவதேவ:

(v) the vowel *u* has been confused for *a* in the word *uri* (*ll.* 22, 23 and 26) probably because the initial redundant curvature of *a* was indistinct in the original, or the copyist read it as such from the analogous readings of *ari* occurring correctly elsewhere in the same lines; but from arithmetical calculation, it has been possible to ascertain that in all the corrected instances the word ought to be *uri* =half a *nāḻi*:

(vi) The copyist's ignorance of the language of inscription is exhibited in his readings of வயச்சன் for உவச்சன் and பாதின்ற for ஊதின்ற (*l.* 10), அருள்வழி for ஆள்வழி (*l.* 13) and in many other instances, where he appears to have been solely guided by the shape, probably obliterated, of the letters without a side-glance at the sense of the words with reference to their context. A similar mistake occurs in *l.* 21 where நெல் கது அ௰ ௯ (1080 *paṟa* of paddy) has been rendered into நெல் கண்ட அயறயும்.

These and similar errors have been corrected in the footnotes, and the slight difficulty which had been experienced in guessing at the right readings for incorrectly-read proper names of persons and places has also been overcome, wherever possible.

The language of the record bears a close resemblance to that employed in the Māmbaḷḷi record of king Vīra-Kēraḷavarman published on pages 76-80 of Volume IV *ante*; and as the orthographic peculiarities have already been discussed therein, it is not necessary to go over the same ground again in regard to this document also. A few of the expressions occurring in the record may be noticed.

Iḷaṅgūṟu[1] has been been taken to refer to the smaller tract of country administered by a prince and *iḷaṅgūṟu-vāḻunnaruḷiya* can therefore be taken as an epithet signifying 'who was the heir-apparent or *Yuvarāja* and was in actual administrative charge of a minor portion of the dominions'; *Iḷaṅgōkkūṟu* occurs in (*l.* 99) of the Tiruvalla plates and *Muḍukūṟu* in the Tirunelli plates.[2]

Rakshābhōgam (verb: *rakshichchu*) has been explained already,[3] as 'the owner's share of the produce' and as 'the share or fee given for protection and other facilities to the renter or owner of land as revenue or rent'. The *Kēraḷōlpatti* says that when the administrative control of the *Kēraḷa* country was handed over to the viceroys selected by the brahman oligarchy for short terms of service, one-sixth of the produce of the lands was set apart as the remuneration payable to the *Rakshāpurushas* or protectors for the maintenance of peace and order in the country and that this fee was called *rakshābhōgam* (*rājabhōgam*) or 'the amount to be enjoyed for the service of protection'. *Rakshābhōgam* was also the name of freeholds, which were granted by kings or chiefs to persons who had rendered them special service in times of peril. This term latterly came to have the wider significance noted above.

Pulari[4] is a classical Tamil word which has been adopted in Malayalam and it denotes the early part of the day about the time of morning twilight and is consequently the terminal portion of *vaikarai*. According to *Tolkāppiyam* the day of sixty *nāḻigai* was divided into six portions (*śiṟupoḻudu*) of ten *nāḻigai* each, beginning from sunset *viz.*, *mālai*, *yāmam*, *vaikarai*, *kālai*, *nanpakal* and *eṟpāḍu*. *Eṟpāḍu* (*el* = sun + *pāḍu* = setting) is identical in meaning with the expression *paḍiñjāṟu* (*jñāyaṟu* = sun + *paḍu* = setting) now in use in Malabar, but the latter refers to the cardinal direction, and not to the time, of the setting sun. It is customary in well-endowed temples in which worship is conducted six times (*āṟukālapūjai*) daily, to begin the first *pūja* (*ushaḥpūjā*) early in the morning. Provision for such an item of worship at *pulari* has been made in the Veḷḷalūr inscription also.

Uchchi is midnoon when the sun is at its zenith; and *uchchi* which refers only to the position of the sun in the heavens has come to signify also the time of day, when that position is occupied by that luminary.

Attāḻam-tiruvamudu is the supper-offering to god. *Attāḻam* is compounded of *al* = darkness and *tāḻam* = descent, and is made to signify supper, the meal taken

1 *Trav. Archl. Series* Vol. IV, p. 27. Dr. Gundert gives the meaning of *iḷaṅgūṟu-vāḻchcha* as 'the dignity of the second prince'.

2 *cf.* புறைகிழாநாடு முதுகூறு வாழுமவர், *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX., 290.

3 *Trav. Archl. Series*, Vol. IV, p. 8.

4 புலரியே கானில் கன்றின்பின் என் இளஞ்சிங்கத்தைப் போக்கினேன் — *Periyāḻvār-Tirumoḻi*, and താളുംപോലെ പുലരിവന്നിതസ്സുംഗോതൊ ചന്ദ്രസൂര്യ്യൗ — *Uṇṇunīli-sandēśam*.

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at night time, as against *muttāḷam*, which though not similarily derivable means breakfast. *Attāḷapūjā* is god's worship conducted in temples at night after the evening ceremony of *dīpārādhana* and before *ardhajāma-pūjā*, which is also generally hurried through before 10 P. M. *Attāḷam* and *Muttāḷam* are the two meals which constitute the daily dietary of an ordinary Malayalee.

Māḍambi is another term peculiar to Kēraḷa. It is composed of two words *māḍa* + *nambi* and connotes 'lord of a manor, *māḍam* meaning 'a storeyed building' and *nambi* signifying 'a superior person, or the son of a brahman by a mother of the military race'. Māḍambimār[3] were the feudal barons of Travancore in the early days, who exercised limited authority and maintained small units of armed retainers. They had to pay certain fixed contributions to the central authority in the forms of *āṇḍukāḷcha*, *keṭṭuteṅgu*, *rakshābhōgam* etc. *Māḍattinkīḻil* is the name of one of the five Kshatriya families of Kēraḷa and *Māṭabhūpati* is the title of the Cochin king. The mischief done by the petty chiefs called Māḍambimār to the ruling dynasty at Travancore in the 17th and 18th centuries is well-known.

Tirumēṉikāvalkku-nilkum-piḻḻer (*l.* 24) is more correctly *tirumēṉikāvarku-niṟkum-piḷḷaigaḷ*. *Tirumēṉikāval* is the office of the temple watchman whose duty is to mount guard in the temple premises at nights and who is therefore responsible for the safety of the temple utensils etc. and of the god's images (*tirumēṉi*): on account of this duty, the watchman is also designated by that expression. *Piḷḷar* is the plural form of *Piḷḷai*, whereas in Tamil it will be *piḷḷaikaḷ* or *piḷḷaimār*. It was originally a title of distinction granted by the king on his henchmen as a mark of royal favour, but it is now the most common appellation of a Nayar in Travancore.

Kāḷam (*l.* 10) is the *tadbhava* form of the Sanskrit word *kāhala* which means a trumpet (*tiṟuchchiṉṉam*) and blowing on it is a necessary item of service in temples *cf.*, वीणाभेरिमृदङ्गकाहळकलागीतञ्च नृत्यं तथा'. This horn is generally sounded before the processions of gods, kings and gurus as a mark of honour, like a herald's trumpet. It occurs as *kākāḷam* in line 353 of the Tiruvalla plates, and that form is nearer to the Sanskrit original.

Vēṇāṭṭu-niḻal-manichchamāy-variṉṟa-āḷvaḻi-koḍuttu (*l.* 13) needs explanation. *Manichcham* is in the first place a *tadbhava* of *manushyam*, and is often used to express 'a servant or a subordinate' especially of a king. *Niḻal* which means 'shadow' is here the protecting shadow of a royal parasol and therefore of the king; (*cf.*, കടക്കീഴ് വെച്ചയാക്കി=appointed by the king). *Vēṇāṭṭu-niḻal-manichcham*[4] thus refers to a subordinate officer of the Vēṇāḍu ruler; and the meaning of the whole expression is 'handing over to the individual who comes in the capacity of an official of the Vēṇāḍu king'.

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1 *Trav. Archl. Series*, Vol. IV, p. 71.

2 *Attāḷam* and *Muttāḷam* occur elsewhere in the sense of 'evening and morning offerings'.

3 മാടമ്പിമാരവിടെവസന്താം ധന്യമാക്കും നിവാസം—*Uṇṇunīlisandēśam*.

4 [illegible] and [illegible] occur in the Tirunelli plates of Bhāskara-Ravi—*Ind. Ant.*, XX—290.

The reading *oppu-kaḻippu muṉṟōṟāṇḍil* in line 26, as given in the olai, is not free from doubt. What is intended to be conveyed seems, however, to be the following: In all Malabar temples the worshipping priests and their immediate subordinates are generally left in charge only for a fixed term of from three to six years at a time, while another batch from some other temple will thereafter take their place, thus maintaining a regular rotation in the personnel of a particular temple. This temple may have also been similarly constituted, the temple servants being liable to a shift once in three years. The following instance may be compared:—

'சாந்திசெய்யுமவரை மூவாண்டில் மிக வைக்கப்பெறார்' — Tirukkaḍittānam record.[2]

Line 31 furnishes a curiously misread expression *'pariparirādar-varu-aṟatala'* and its interpretation is therefore only tentative. The full sentence reads thus:

'பட்டாரகர்க்கொள்ள தொம்மின்னும் ஸ்ரீகோவில்க்கும் மொரொருத்தம் (?) வரும்போழ்தவிடெ கூடி நின்னு பரிபரிராதர் வரு இறதல்'—

Pariparirādar may be a mistaken transcription for *pariyariyādu*, which in correct Tamil will be *parikarikkādu* derived from the Sanskrit word *parihāra* (remedy), while the last word which has been read as *aṟatala* may be *arudu*, which is the Malayalam form of the Tamil word *aridu* or *ariyadu* and signifies 'what ought not to be'. The sentence may therefore mean that 'if any hindrance or damage were to occur to the temple holdings or to the temple itself, the *ūrāḻmakkārar* should at once assemble and should not remain without setting right the trouble'. The expression *aṟiyarudāde* occurring in line 4 of the Kollur plates may be compared. *Morōttam* is unintelligible.

The point which calls for special note in the present document is the mention of several royal personages of Vēṇāḍu, *viz.*,

No.	Name.	Text-line
1.	Vīra Udayamārttāṇḍavarmaṉ-Tiruvaḍi	2, 34, 56.
2.	Vīra Adichchavarmaṉ-Tiruvaḍi	3.
3.	Maṇikaṇṭhaṉ-Mādhaviyāya Piḷḷaiyār-Tiruvaḍi of Kīḻappērūr	14.
4.	Maṇikaṇṭhaṉ-Umaiyammayāya Piḷḷaiyār-Tiruvaḍi	16.
5.	Kōdai-Āvaṇiyāya Piḷḷaiyār-Tiruvaḍi of Kīḻappērūr.	18.
6.	Dēvadaraṉ-Āvaṇiyāya Piḷḷaiyār-Tiruvaḍi of Tiruppāppūr	19.
7.	Kēraḷaṉ-Ādichchavarmaṉ of Mullakkal (Kollam 304.)	58, 62.

From their wording, the documents, appear to be a cumulative catalogue of the different endowments made to the temple of Tiruppāṟkkaḍal-Bhaṭṭāraka

1. *Trav. Archl. Series*, Vol. II, p. 65.
2. *ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 40.
3. *ibid.*, Vol. II, p p. 173 *et. seq.*

at Kiḷimāṉūr by successive kings of the Travancore dynasty and engraved on copper at some later date, which must be anterior at least to the last quarter of the 4th century of the Kollam era, the period of rule of Vīra Rāmaṉ-Kēraḷavarmaṉ. That the Māmbaḷḷi plates published on pages 76 to 80 of Volume IV of the Archaeological Series may also be of such a character seems possible, and although Vīra-Kēraḷavarmaṉ's name alone occurs in that document, that set may have contained, in its entirety, the particulars of other endowments made to the Vīrakēraḷapuram temple by earlier and later donors, royal or private. Similar instances are not wanting when the previous benefactions to temples were recorded collectively in the same copper-plate set to facilitate easier reference and also perhaps to ensure greater permanence. The Tiruvalla plates[1] and the Kollūr-maḍam plates[2] are such examples, while the Āṟṟūr plate[3] of Kollam 821 is another later instance, wherein the reason, *viz.*, a fire accident, that necessitated such a consolidation of the earlier documents has also been referred to at the end.

At the beginning of this inscription, it is stated that Vīra Udayamārttāṇḍavarman Tiruvaḍi was the *yuvarāja* or crown-prince (*iḷaṅgūṟu-vāḷunnaruḷiya*) at the time of that record, *i. e.*, in Kollam 343 (Mēsha 13, Thursday, Uttiram, trayōdaśi-tithi). This was a year in which Jupiter stood in Makara and as the same Mārttāṇḍavarman was still the administrative head of the *iḷaṅgūṟu* according to the Tiruvāṭṭāṟu inscription, the date of the latter which was on other grounds fixed to be Kollam 348 in which Jupiter stood in Karkaṭaka, receives further confirmation from this record also. This prince was a reigning king at the time of the Kollūr-maḍam plates (Kollam 364) and the Tiruvāyambāḍi bilingual record whose date was fixed as Kollam 371[4], because it was a year in which Jupiter was in the Karkaṭaka-rāśi and a signatory of this record was found to figure in a record of Vīra-Rāmavarman of Kollam 371. But if the last word of the Sanskrit portion of the inscription is taken to represent a chronogram and worked out, the result obtained is a Kali date which corresponded to Kollam 359, which was also a year in which Jupiter occupied the same rāśi[1]. Thus this king Vīra Udayamārttāṇḍavarman may be considered to have reigned from at least Kollam 359 to 364 and a few years more, the limit on that side being Kollam 371, when his successor Vīra-Rāmavarman had already ascended the throne.

Of the kings mentioned above, No. 2 Vīra Ādichchavarmaṉ-Tiruvaḍi appears to have been a predecessor of Udayamārttāṇḍavarmaṉ from the way in which he is referred to in the record and from the fact that the gifts of lands endowed by the former were regulated by the latter during the period of his heirapparentship. As he has also been mentioned expressly as ruling over Vēṇāḍu (*vēṇāḍu-vāḷnnaruḷiṉṟa*), it is possible that he was the reigning king when Vīra Udayamarttandavarman was the *yuvarāja* in charge of the *iḷaṅgūṟu* dominions. His

1. *Trav. Archl. Series*, Vol. IV, p p. 46 *et. seq.*
2. *ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 154, 8.
3. *ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 27.
4. *ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 48. Mr. T. K. Joseph, thinks with Prof. P. Sundaram Pillai (*Ind. Art.*, XXVI, p. 109) that *mānyayātmākshamāyāh* works out to Kollam 359.

name is new to history and no details are therefore available as to when he ruled and for many years. From the Puravaseri[1] inscription it is learnt that Vīra Ravivarman ruled over Vēṇāḍu till atleast Kollam 337 and even after allowing him some years more and for a Vīrakēraḷa[2] (339-42), there is still an interval of over 15 years to Vīra-Udayamārttāṇḍavarman, who is known to have been in charge of the *iḷaṅgūṟu* in the Kollam years 341, 343 and 348 and was the actual reigning king only from Kollam 359 or 364. It is just possible that the Ādityavarman of this record may have to be located in this period.

The last name occurring at the end of the available portion of the set is Kēraḷaṉ–Ādichchavarman of Mullakkal, whose gift of lands yielding 100 *paṟa* of paddy is stated to have been made on the 1st day of Mēḍam of the Kollam year 304 (expressed in words). In the double name (*iraṭṭaippēr*) of Kēraḷan–Ādityavarman, Kēraḷan represents, according to the custom of Malabar, the name of the uncle and Ādityavarman that of the individual himself. From the Chōḷapuram inscription[3] we know that Vīra-Kēraḷavarman was the Vēṇāḍu king in Kollam 302 and it is just possible that the Ādityavarman of the present record may have been his nephew. In the absence however of any distinguishing epithets such as *Śrī*, *Vīra*, *Piḷḷaiyār* or *Tiruvaḍi*, it is not safe to raise the individual to that dignity, the *varman*-title of his name connoting only his *kshatriya* pedigree and nothing more. He may even have been a private individual, an aristocrat perhaps, hailing from Mullakkal. According to the [4]Suchindram inscriptions Kōdai-Kēraḷavarman was on the Vēṇāḍu throne between the years 320 and 325 after the king Vīra Kēraḷa, mentioned above.

Nos. 3 and 4 have to be taken as princes, the sons respectively of the queens Mādhavi and Umaiyammai, both of whom were in all probability sisters of Vīra–Rāmavarmaṉ of Kīḻappērūr, who was the king of Travancore from about Kollam 371 (A. D. 1195). It is noteworthy that the same suffix *āya* (*āṉa*) is used here in *Umaiyammayāya* and *Mādhaviyāya* as a wrong substitute for *yin* to denote, as suggested on page 69 of Volume IV, the parentage of the princes mentioned thereafter. These names remind one of the names of Gōtamīputra and Vāsishṭīputra of the northern kings. Maṇikaṇṭhaṉ-Umaiyammayāya Piḷḷaiyār-tiruvaḍi may refer to Rāmaṉ-Kēraḷavarman who was the successor of Maṇikaṇṭhaṉ-Rāmavarmaṉ, but it is more probable that his brother who figures in the Kaḍinaṅguḷam[5] epigraph as the consecrator of the image of the god in that Śiva temple is evidently meant, because Dēvadaraṉ-Kēraḷavarmaṉ is separately mentioned. The other nephew of Maṇikaṇṭhaṉ-Rāmavarmaṉ, namely, Maṇikaṇṭhaṉ-Mādhaviyāya Piḷḷaiyār-tiruvaḍi, the son of Rāṇi-Mādhavī, is a prince whose name is disclosed for the first time in this record; but his distinctive name is not mentioned.

The next pair of royal personages mentioned is Kōdai-Āvaṇiāya Piḷḷaiyār-tiruvaḍi of Kīḻappērūr and Dēvadaraṉ-Āvaṇiyāya Piḷḷaiyār-tiruvaḍi of Tiruppāppūr. In the Māmbaḷḷi plates of Dēvadaraṉ-Kēraḷavarmaṉ, the name of that

1 *Ind. Ant.* XXIV, p. 258.
2 *Trav. State Manual*, Vol. I, p. 253.
3 *ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 17.
4 *ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 20-21.
5 *ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 69-70.

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king is stated in full as Kīḻapperūr Vīra Dēvadaraṉ-Āvaṉiyāṉa Piḷḷaiyār-tiruvaḍi[1], where the title *Āvaṉiyāṉa* has been considered to refer probably to Śravaṇa, the star of nativity of the king and Kīḻapperūr to the *illam* with which he was connected, whereas the present record connects his name with the Tiruppāppūr family also. If Kōdai-Āvaṇiyāya Piḷḷaiyār-tiruvaḍi of Kīḻapperūr is possibly identical with Dēvadaraṉ-Āvaṇi, it may furnish the detail that Kēraḷavarman had also the title of Kōdai, which is often used as a dynastic name of the Kēraḷa kings. It may not be correct to consider him as different from Dēvadaraṉ-Āvaṇi, as the common natal star 'Āvaṇi[2]' of both these princes points to their identity, unless it be that Kōdai and Dēvadaraṉ were twins, or if different, they had a horoscopic coincidence in their star of nativity.

It is unfortunate that this record happens to be incomplete and if the missing leaves of this as well as of the incomplete Māmbaḷḷi record of Dēvadaraṉ-Kēraḷavarmaṉ could be procured, they will be valuable for setting aright some of the doubtful points in the history of the 4th century of the Kollam era.

The record under consideration is divisible into a few sections, each section specifying the provisions for a distinct item of service or recording the gifts made therefor by a separate donor.

First section.

The first record opens with the date—the 12th solar day of the month of Mēsha of Kollam 343, when Jupiter stood in Makara, corresponding to a Thursday, Uttiram, trayōdaśī, when Śrī Vīra Udayamārttāṇḍavarmaṉ-tiruvaḍi was administering (as heir-apparent) the *iḷaṅgūṟu* dominions of Vēṇāḍu and states that he fixed the scale of expenditure in the temple of Tiruppāṟkkaḍal-Bhaṭṭāraka in respect of the conduct of the daily *bali*-ceremony and other expenses connected with god's worship and the yearly festivals of the temple.

The village of Kiḷimāṉūr with the forests, arable lands and compound sites included in it, was granted by Śrī Vīra-Aḍichchavarmaṉ Tiruvaḍi who was the ruler of Vēṇāḍu, for the expenses connected with the feeding of brahmans or with the annual temple festivities (*brahmasvam* or *brahmōtsavam*) and ten individuals were elected for the management of the temple affairs from among those who were already attached to other important temples. They were:

1. [Anantaṉ]-Kuṉṟaṉ of Puduvāḻkkasthānam from Paravūr,
2. Śuvākaraṉ-Dāmōdaraṉ of Kūṟṟambaḷḷi from Mūḻikkaḷam,
3. [Śēndaṉ]-Dēvaṉ of Vāvukāḍu from Ayirāṇikkaḷam,
4. Dēva-Nārāyaṇaṉ of Vāraṇakōṭṭam from Iruññāḍikkuḍal,
5. Dēvaṉ-Kōvaṉ of Kuḷaṉṉāḍu from Peruvaṇam,
6. Nārāyaṇaṉ-Śrīkumāraṉ of Piṇaññāḍu,

1 *T. A. S.*, Vol. IV, p. 74.

2 It may be noted that *Āvaṇi* is the name of Simha month and of the star Śarvishṭhā, not Śrāvaṇa.

மருவியகாகப்புள்ளுவகைக்களுள் பறவை புள்ளு
விரவு மாவணியவிட்டம்— *Chuḍāmaṇi*, v. 77.

7. Rudraṇ-Śaṅkaraṇ of Vañjippuḷai, a *Mādambi* from Cheṅgannūr,
8. Dāmōdaraṇ-Krishṇaṇ of Vilakkilimaṅgalam from Tiruvallavāḻ,
9. Vikkirama-Nārāyaṇaṇ of Makiḻañjēri, a *Māḍambi*, and
10. Śatti Vikkiramaṇ – Śatti of Kamugañjēri from Āṟaṇmuḷa.

After setting apart lands in Parappunāḍu at the rate of plots (having the sowing capacity) of six *kalam* (of paddy seed) and also one male and one female servant for each of these, the balance of land including forest, arable lands, compound sites and of labourers was left with them subject to the supervision of the king's representative: and from the *rakshābhōgam* accruing from these lands provision was made for the payment of 100 *paṟa* of paddy per year by the *paṟa* holding 10 *nāḻi* to the *uvachchan* blowing on the *kāḻam* (pipe).

100 *paṟa* of paddy which had to be given per year to the gods of the Ayirūr and Pullel temples was ordered to be collected at the rate of 10 *paṟa* from each of the ten individuals who were in the enjoyment of the *paḍagāram* lands of six *kalam* sowing capacity.

100 *paṟa* of paddy per year which had to be collected from Kīṟṟadichchuvaram was also arranged to be paid to the king's agents (*kōyimmār*) at the end of the festival days in the month of Mēḍam and receipt obtained therefor.

In this manner was the cadjan order of the temple transactions written up and deposited in the temple treasury (*bhaṇḍāra*).

This apparently finishes the first record, but before passing on to the next section it may be of interest to note that, if the similarity in the names of persons coming from the same place can count for anything, three out of the ten persons mentioned above seem to have had some relatives figuring in the Huzur Office Plates of the Tiruvalla temple, (*T. A. S.* II–173). The following pairs of names may be noticed:

Village.	*Tiruvalla Plates.*	*Kilimanur Record.*
Vāvukāḍu (Vēḻakāḍu)	Nārāyaṇan-Śēndan	Śēndan-Dēvan
Piṇaññāḍu	Kumaran-Śēndan	Nārāyaṇan-Śrīkumaran
Vilakkilimangalam	Kṛishṇan-Dēvan	Dāmōdiran-Kṛishṇan
Makiḻañjēri	Dēvan-Vikkiraman	Vikkiraman-Nārāyaṇan

As the second group of individuals lived in or some years before Kollam 343, the persons figuring as donors to the Tiruvalla temple who may have been removed from them by one or, at the most, two generations may therefore have lived at the end of the 3rd century of the Kollam era, which period does not clash with the date assignable to the engraving of the Tiruvalla plates from palaeographical considerations.

Second section.

A second document states that the provision of 3 *paṟa* of paddy required for the daily expenses of the temple was to met from the following sources:

1. from the lands and sites in Kārittuṟai, the fields called Iḍamaṉ and Āyiramaṉ in Nāvāikkaḷam and half of Neḍumpuram-paṟambu, which were given to Maṇikaṇṭham-Mādhaviyāya Piḷḷaiyār-Tiruvaḍi of Kīḻappērur as freehold (*kārāḷma*), 360 *paṟa* of paddy per year was to be measured at the rate of one *paṟa* of good paddy per day;
2. the *bhaṇḍāra* paid 240 *achchu* on certain lands in Kaḍamba-nāḍu and Perumaṇṇūr belonging to Maṇikaṇṭhaṉ-Umaiyammaiyāya Piḷḷaiyār-Tiruvaḍi of Kīḻappērūr and from these lands 240 *paṟa* of paddy had to be measured:
3. for another amount of 240 *achchu* paid on the lands called Paḷai-kkuḷam, Neḍumaṉ in Koṭṭārakarai, Aṟṟuvāchchēri in Kāṭṭāmattala and Periya-mummi in Paḷḷaikkal belonging to Kōdai-Āvaṇiyāya Piḷḷaiyār-Tiruvaḍi of Kīḻappērūr, 240 *paṟa* of paddy had to be measured; and
4. for a third equal amount of 240 *achchu* paid on the lands called Karichchēy . . . . and Muṭṭakkāḍu belonging to Dēva-daraṉ-Āvaṇiyāya Piḷḷaiyār-Tiruvaḍi of Tiruppāppūr, 240 *paṟa* of paddy had to be measured.

Thus with this aggregate quantity of 1080 *paṟa* of paddy, it was orderd that a daily dole of 3 *paṟa* of paddy should be measured so as to provide 48 *nāḻi* of rice by the *iraṭṭamaḍai* (measure) of the temple: and from it the following scale of distribution of rice was fixed:

Items of expenditure.	*nāḻi.*	*uri.*	
the *mēlśānti* (worshipping priest)	4	1	
one *kīḻśānti* (his assistant)	3	1	
another *kīḻśānti* (do)	3		
tirukkuḍa (umbrella-bearer;)	2		
śrībali and *vaiśvadēva* offerings	3	1	
morning (*puḷari*) offerings	5		31 *nāḻi*+1 *uri*
midday (*uchchi*) offerings	21	1	
night (*attāḻam*) offerings	5		
	Total 48 *nāḻi.*		

The total daily offerings prepared with 31 *nāḻi* and 1 *uri* of rice, as noted above, were also ordered to be distributed among the temple servants in the following scale:

	nāḻi.	*uri.*
the *vāriyaṉ*	5	
the flower supplier (*tiruppaḷḷittāyam*)	4	
the watchmen (*tirumāṇikāval*)	3	
the woman-servant (*tēvaḍichchi*) who pounded the paddy and carried the hand lamps	2	
the drummers (*uvachchar*) who provided the seven items of service during *śrībali*, at 2 *naḻi* + 1 *uri* each	17	1
Total	31	1

Third section.

It was also stipulated that there should be a change in the temple personnel once in every three years.

The following amounts were also ordered to be collected, probably as entrance fees (*aḍiyaṟa* or *pādakāṇṇikka*), from

	achchu.
the *mēlśānti-nambi*	2
the *kīḻśānti*	1
the *vāriyaṉ*	1
the *paḷḷittāyam*	1
Total	5

and this amount of five *achchu* was to be utilised for the purchase of or repairs to the temple utensils and other wastages, without allowing the *kōyimmārs* and *ūrāḷars* who superintended the temple affairs to utilise any portion of it for their own use.

This expenditure had to be looked after by batches of two persons for each year. It was also ordered that if the above expenses were not properly administered, the incumbents of the year will have to vacate their posts in the *ūrāḷma* (committee of management), and that they should also settle any slight disputes or entanglements that may occur with reference to the temple holdings or to the temple itself.

The ten members (*ūrāḷars*) were thus divided into five batches of two members each, which had to hold office in turns for a term of one year:

	Name.	*Line.*
First year	1. Śuvākaraṉ-Dāmōdaran of Kūṟṟampaḷḷi	4, 31
	2. Nārāyaṇaṉ-Śrīkumāraṉ of Piṇaṅṅāḍu	5, 31
Second year	1. Dēva-Nārāyaṇaṉ of Vāraṇakōṭṭam	5, 32
	2. Dēvaṉ-Kōvaṉ of Kuḷaṅṅāḍu	5, 32
Third year	1. [Anantaṉ]-Kuṉṟaṉ of Puduvāḻkkasthānam	4, 32
	2. [Śēṇḍan]-Dēvaṉ of Vāvukāḍu	5, 32
Fourth year	1. Dāmōdiraṉ-Krishṇaṉ of Vilakkilimaṅgalam	6, 32
	2. Śatti-Vikkiraman of Kamukañjēri	7, 33
Fifth year	1. Vikkiramaṉ-Nārāyaṇaṉ of Makiḷañjēri	6, 33
	2. Rudraṉ-Śaṅkaraṉ of Vañjippuḷai	6, 33

and they had to administer the temple expenditure in the aforesaid manner, their eldest sons succeeding them in the temple mangement on their absence or demise.

This portion of the document seems to be contemporaneous with the first section, as the same ten members are mentioned in both of them.

Fifth section.

Then follows an incomplete passage referring to a gift of land in Nagarūr having the sowing capacity of 13 *para* of paddy, which was purchased by king Vīra-Udayamārttāṇḍavarman Tiruvaḍi from a certain Kumara-Nārāyaṇaṉ of Śeṅgaḻunīr-maṅgalam, *viz.*,

Kīḻkuṇḍārōḍi of the sowing capacity of 10 *para* of seed and 3 *para* of land in Mēkkāṇattūr.

The cadjan leaf then closes with the remark that the above was transcribed from the first four sheets of a set of copper plates.

Sixth section.

The sixth leaf begins with the note that the fifth copper-plate was missing at the time of the transcription itself and that the further copy is from the sixth plate of the set, the subject matter of which is in continuation of what must have been incised on the missing sheet.

It gives a catalogue of certain pieces of land which must have been given to the temple:—

Name of place.	*Capacity*		*Remarks.*
	para.	*idaṅ.*	
Eṇṇilam	11		
Toṭṭikkōḍu	5		
Maṇṇadi	7		
Taḍaṅṅōḍu	12		
Veṭṭikkōḍu	4		
Veṭṭiyattukaṇḍam	1	2½	
Perumbaravūr	1		
Śeṅgūṟu	10		
Seṟumāvēli	5		
Muṇḍakkal	3		
Śeṟukaḍamaṉ	1		
Kīrttimaṅgalam	10		Occurs also in the Mitrānandapuram plate.
Añjal	5		Perhaps a village in Pattanāpuram taluk.

In all, lands having the sowing capacity of 107 *para* of paddy were left with the temple officials (*dēvarkanmis*) after deducting the old dues and *mēlppādi*, to provide for the expenses of *tachchu* in the temple of Tiruppāṟkaḍal-bhaṭṭāraka. *Tachchu* may be Skt. *Dīkshā* as in the word *Tachchuḍaiya-kaimmaḷ*, the sacerdotal dignitary in charge of certain temples. As the total of the above items gives only about 75¾ *para*, the details relating to the balance of 31¼ *para* of land appear to have been lost in the missing fifth plate.

It is further stated that the *ōlai*-document relating to the above was deposited in the *bhaṇḍāra*, and it must therefore have been a separate record by itself.

Seventh section.

This section begins with the date Kollam 341, Chingam 1. It records that the following pieces of land were bought by the subordinate officials of Vīra-Udaiyamārttāṇḍavarmaṉ Tiruvaḍi and given as *kīḻśānti-virutti*:

Name of land.	*Capacity in para.*	*Remarks.*
Ānāḍu-jīvitam-Miḷiyūr	20	Ānāḍu is a pakudi in Neḍu-maṅgāḍ taluk.
Vembāykuṉṟam-jīvitam-Kaṇḍamaṅgalam	10	Probably Vembāyam in the same taluk.
Neṟpāḍu-jīvitam-Kīḻmaṇa	10	
Land of Kaṇḍaṉ-Ravi of Mēlachchēri	10	
Mēvūr	10	Now called Mēvūrkkal in Chirayinkil taluk.
Ānāḍu-Śeṟuvaḷa	10	
Total	70	

Eighth section.

This is dated on the 1st day of Mēḍam of the Kollam year 304 (in words) and relates to the lands in the eastern Chiraiyūrkkal which had been leased out under Kēraḷan-Ādichchavarman of Mullakkal, namely,

Name of land.	*Capacity in para.*
Aḍimayālakkōḍu	15
Mullakkal	50
Mēṭṭukkuḷi	20
Total	85

From these lands, 100 *paṟa* of paddy had to be given to the officers (*adhikārar*) and in exchange for the lands in Marudūr-Maṇṭōḍi in Chirayūrkkal which had been previously endowed as *mēlśānti-virutti*, 100 *paṟa* of paddy had also to be measured out in addition and the temple-servants (*dēvarkarmi*) were directed to take written receipts for these payments.

The penalty that was fixed for non-payment was double the quantity (at default) for the first occasion, double the default and an additional fine for two occasions of failure, while the punishment for remissness on three consecutive occasions is not explicit here. In other instances it is generally eviction of the tenants.

This transaction which had been written on cadjan and deposited in the temple treasury had originally constituted another separate document.

Ninth section.

Only one line of this section is now available and the year of this transaction is not also noted, only the first digit 3 of the Kollam year having been copied by the scribe. The following names occur in this line of writing:

Name.	*Remarks.*
Kāḍavakkuṭṭumala	
Iḷambela	This may be Iḷamba in Chirayinkīl Taluk.
Dēvaṉ-Ravi of Tiladamaṅgalam	Tiladamaṅgalam occurs also in the Kaviyur epigraph and Tiruvalla plates.

The record then stops abruptly in the middle of the 65th line, either because the further sheet of the set was not available or the transcription was not continued further. If the eighth sheet had not been available to the copyist, he will have entered a remark to that effect, but he has not done so.

The following additional proper names occur in the record:

Name of place.	*Text line.*	*Remarks.*
Āraṇmuḷa	7	is a hamlet in the Tiruvalla taluk.
Āṟṟuvāchchēri	18	is in Kuḷakkaḍa-pakudi in the Kottarakara taluk.
Ayirūr	11	is a hamlet in the Chirayinkil taluk.
Ayirāṇikuḷam	4	is probably Ernakulam.
Cheṅgaṇṇūr	5	is a taluk of the Quilon Division.
Chiraiyūrkkal	58	is in the Kummil pakudi of the Kottarakara taluk.
Iruññādikkuḍal	5	is a town in Cochin State.
Iruññalattūr		may be Irunnalur in the Chirayinkil taluk.
Kaḍambanāḍu	16	is in the Perungulam-pakudi of the Nedumangad taluk.
Kamugañjēri	7	is in the Pattanapuram pakudi of the same taluk.
Kaṇḍamaṅgalam	53	
Karichchēy	20	is probably Karichchāyil in the Āvaṇavañjēri pakudi of the Chirayinkil taluk.
Kāṭṭāmattala	18	
Kīḻappērūr	9	is a hamlet in the Chirayinkil taluk.
Kiḷimāṇūr	3	is a pakudi in the same taluk.

Name of place.	*Text line.*	*Remarks.*
Kīṟṟadīchchuvaram	12	occurs in the Quilon inscription of Kollam 278.
Koṭṭārakkarai	18	is a railway station on the Quilon-Shencotta line.
Kuḷaṅgāḍu	5	
Kunnalattūr	50	may be only Kunnattūr or Kuntallūr in the Chirayinkil taluk.
Kūṟṟambaḷḷi	4	
Makalañjēri	6	occurs in the Tiruvalla plates.
Mēlachchēri		
Melkāṇattūr	35	
Miḷiyūr	52, 56	
Mūḻikkaḷam	4	is a village in the Alangad taluk.
Mullakkal	58	
Muṇḍakkal		may be Mudākkal
Muṭṭakkāḍu	20	may be a mistake for Muṭṭakaḍam or Muṭṭākkaḍagam near Kilimānuur.
Nagarūr	35	is adjacent to Kilimanur.
Nāvaykkaḷam	15	is a village near Āttingal in the Chirayinkil taluk: (Tirunāvāy, the famous Vaishṇava *divyadēśam* is in South Malabar).
Neḍumaṇ	18	is probably the village in Nedumangad taluk.
Neḍumpuram	15	is in Cheṭṭiviḷākam-pakudi of the Trivandrum taluk.
Paravūr	4	is a village in the Quilon taluk and is a railway station.
Paḻaikkuḷam		If this is an incorrect rendering of Paḻaiyakuṉṟam, it is near Kilimanur.
Paḷḷikkal	18	is a village in the Chirayinkil taluk.
Piṇaññāḍu	5	
Parappunāḍu	7	may be a mistake for Parappaṅgōḍ in the Nedumangad taluk. Parappanāḍu is in Malabar.
Perumaṇṇūr	16	Peruman is in the Quilon taluk.
Peruvanam	8	is the one in the Cochin State.
Puduvākkusthānam	4	

Name of place.	*Text line.*	*Remarks.*
Pullel	11	now called Pallayil in the Chirayinkil taluk.
Śeṅgaḻunīrmaṅgalam	34	occurs in the Māmbaḷḷi plate.
Tiladamaṅgalam	64	occurs in Kaviyūr inscription and in the Tiruvalla plates.
Tiruppāppūr	64	is a village 10 miles north of Trivandrum.
Tiruvallavāḻ	6	is the headquarters of Tiruvalla taluk.
Vañjipuḻa	6	is in the Kottarakarai taluk.
Vāraṇakkōṭṭam	5	
Vāvukāḍu	5	may be a mistake for Vēḻakāḍu of the Tiruvalla plates.
Vilakkilimaṅgalam	6	occurs in the Tiruvalla plates.

Text.[1]

First plate: second side.

1 கொல்லம் ௩௱௯௰௩ மாண்டெ[2] மகரத்தில் வியாழம் நின்ற மெடஞாயறு ப-ந்திரண்டு சென்ற வியாழமாண்ட உத்திரவும் பக்கம்[3] திரயொதசியும் இ-ந்நாளால் வெணாட்டு இளங்கூறு வாழுந்நருளிய

2 ஸ்ரீவீரதெவ[4]மார்த்தாண்டவர்ம்ம திருவடி கீழ் [5]மேசிலவினு திட்டம் பண்-ணிச்செருளிய திருப்பால்க்கடல் பட்டாரகர்க்கு [5]அம்ச்சிலவும் நிச்ச-னவிக்கும்[6] பிரம்மஸ்வத்தினும் கற்ப்பிச்ச பரி-

3 சாவிதா [1*] ஷெ திருக்கொவிக்கல் பிரம்மஸ்வத்தினு வெணாடு வாழுந்நருளி-ன்ற ஸ்ரீவீர ஆதிச்சவர்ம்ம திருவடி கற்ப்பிச்சு கொடுத்தருளிய கிளிமா-னூர் பூமியுங் காடும் காயும் காபுரயிடத்திடெ மாணி-

4 டெம்[7] ஷெ முக்கால்வட்டத்து ஊராழ்ம்மக்கு கொண்டபெர் வாயூர்க்கு[8]

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1 Registered as No. 11 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1098 M. E.

2 Read °மாண்டை.

3 The *paksha* is not specified as either 'dark' or 'bright'; *paksha* also means simply the *tithi*.

4 Evidently a misreading for உதய°.

5 Read perhaps நடசிலவினு and நடச்சிலவும்.

6 Read நிச்சபலிக்கும் or நிச்சனடைக்கும்.

7 This may be a mistake for மாணியம்.

8 Read பறவூர்.

[1]புதுவாச்சதான ந்தஙகுன்தனும் மூழிக்களத்தினு கூற்றம்பள்ளிச் சு-
பாகரங் தாமொதரனும் அயிராணிகளத்தினு வாவுகாட்டு

5 [2]திராதங் தெவனும் யிருங்ஙாடிக்குடல்க்கு வாரணெகொட்டத்து தெவநா-
ராயணனும் பெருவனத்தினும் [3]குலாங்ஙாட்டு தெவடெ[4] கொடனும்[5]
செங்ஙந்நூர்க்கு பெணங்ஙாடு நாராயணன் ஸ்ரீகுமாரனும்

Second plate: first side.

6 ஷெ யாரு மாடம்பிகளில் வஞ்ஞிப்புழெய் ருத்திரன் சங்கரனும் திருவல்லா-
வாழ்க்கு விலக்கிலிமங்ஙலத்து தாமொதிரங் கிருட்டனும் ஷெ யார் மாட-
ம்பிகளில் மகிழஞ்செரி விக்கிரம நாராயணனும்

7 ஆறம்முளக்கு கமுகஞ்செரிக் கன்றி [6]விக்கிரமஞ்சத்தியும் [7]கூடப பெர் ப-
த்தினும் பெர் ஒங்நினு நில்ம் அறுகலமும் இதினடுத்த பாப்புநாட்டின்
செம்மெ[8] ஒள்ள காடும் கரயுடெ[9] கரபுரயிடமும்

8 பெர் ஒங்நினு ஆணுள் ஒன்றும் பெண்ணுள் ஒன்றும் ஆகயில் [10]அறுப நிங்கல-
மும் ஆள் [11]ஒருபதும் நீக்கி ஒள்ள நிலம் எப்பெர்ப்பட்டதும் காடுங் க-
ரயுடெ[12] கரெபுரயிடவும் ஆளும் கூட

9 கீழப்பெரூர் நாடெ வழியிடெம் முத்து[13] ஷெ முக்கால்வட்டத் ததிகாரம் ஒ-
ண்டாயிருந்நருளும் கொயிம்மாரு காராழ்ம்மயாக அதிகரிச்சுகொண்டு
ஈமுக்கால்வட்டத்தின்னு மெலி ரக்ஷாபொக-

10 மாக்கி [14]ராடிச்சமர்ந்து மாதெவர்க்கு ஸ்ரீவெலிக்கு காளம் [15]பாதின்ற [16]வபச்-
சன்னு ஆண்டு வ௰யும் கொடுப்பான் ஸம்மதிச்ச நெல் பதினழிப்பறபால்
நாறுபறயு(ம்)ங் கொடுந்து[17] இத்தொம்மும்

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1 This occurs again in line 32 as 'புதுவாக்கஷ்டானம்ந்தகுத்தனும்; but the correct word seems to be புதுவாக்கத்தானம்:அனந்தங் குன்றனும். புதுவாக்கஷ்டானம் may be புதுவாழ்க்கைஷ்டானம்.

2 The correct word for which திராதங் is evidently a mistaken reading cannot be guessed; it may be செந்தன் and வாவுகாடு may be வேழகாடு.

3 This name occurs in line 32 as குளங்ஙாட்டு, which seems to be correct.

4 Read தெவங்: டெ in தெவடெ is evidently a misreading for ங and has similarly been misread in several other places.

5 கொடனும் may more correctly be கொவனும்.

6 This is probably ०செரிச் சத்திவிக்கிரமஞ் சத்தியும், compare line 33.

7 Read கூடிய.

8 It occurs also as செம்மெ in *l.* 30 of the Mamballi plates of Vira Kēraḷavarman.

9 Read கரையும், *vide* note 6 above.

10 Read ஆகயில் அறுபதி.

11 Probably இருபதும்.

12 Read கரையுங்.

13 The correct reading is doubtful, perhaps it is கடைவழியிடெ (= the temple thresold) யமைத்து or நாடுவாழியிடெ (= officer) யமத்து or நடவடியிடை(= country-custom).

14 Read ரட்சிச்சிருந்து.

15 Read ஊதின்ற.

16 Read உவச்சன்னு.

17 Read கொடுத்து.

Second plate: second side.

11 அதிகரிச்சு கொள்விதாக கற்ப்பிச்சு [|*] கிளிமானூர் பூமி எப்பெர்ப்பட்ட தின்ம[ெ*]மனும் அயிரூர் தெவர்க்கும் புல்லெ[ல்*]த் தெவர்க்கும் ஆ- ண்டுவாயுங் கொடுக்கவெண்டு(ம்)ந் நெல் நாறுபறயும் இந்நிலம் [1]நடகாரம்

12 கொண்டதிகரிக்கின்ற பெர் [2]வந்தும் அறுகலம் நிலத்தினு நால்ப்பதின் பறெ [3]செதுநெல் கொடுத்து வருவிதாகவும் கற்ப்பிச்சு [|*] கிற்றடிச்சு வரத்தின்னு கொடுக்கும் நெல் நாறுபறயும் ஆண்டுவரயும் மெடனூ-

13 யறு [4]திர்ந்நால்கடல் பட்டாரகர் திரு[வா]ள்[5][வா]ள்ப் பின்றெ[வா]ள் வெளுட்டு நிழல் மனிச்சமாய் வரின்ற [6]அருள்வழி கொடுந்து குறியும் கொண்டு[7] வருவிதாகவும் கற்ப்பிச்சிவிட மெல்லாம்[8] செயமீ ஒலெ மெலெ-

14 முதி ஸ்ரீபண்டாரத்திலிட்டிது [||*] ஷெ முக்கால்வட்டத்து [9]நிச்சலவுட்க்கு வெண்டும நெல் மூந்நரப் பறக்கும்[10] கீழப்பெரூர் மணிகண்டம் மாதவி- யாய பிள்ளையார் திருவடிக்கு காராழ்ம்ம கொடுத்த காரித்தும[11]-

15 ப் பூமியும் புரயிடமும் மற்றிந் நாவரயிக்களத்தில் யிடெமண்ணும் ஆயிரப- ண்ணு[12] மெப்பெர்ப்பட்டத்திம் மெனும் நெடும் [13]ஆறும் பரம்பில் பா- தியும் கூடெ நிந்தஞ் [14]செவத்துவ னெல் ஒருபறெ செயிவதாக[16]

Third plate: first side.

16 ஓராண்டால் கொடுப்பான் கற்ப்பிச்ச ஊ நாசுவ௳[15]ம் [*|] ஷெ மணிக ண்ட னுமய்யுமம்மெ[17] ஆய பிள்ளையார் திருவடிக்கு ஒள்ள கீழப்பெரூர் உடய கடம்பனூடும் பெருமண்ணூரும்

17 மற்று மெப்பெர்ப்பட்டதிம் மெனும் பண்டாரத்தில் நின்றெடுத்து கொடு- த்த அச்சு யிருநூற்றி நால்ப்பதின்னும் [18](செயந்துமாறு கல்ப்பிச்ச நெல் யிருநூற்றிநால்ப்பது பறயும் [|*] ஷெ கீழப்பெரூர் கொதெ

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1 Read படகாரம்.

2 Probably பத்தும்.

3 Read செய்துநெல்(= good paddy).

4 Read திருப்பாற்கடல் as in other lines.

5 Read திருநாள் நான் பின்றெ நாள்.

6 Read ஆள்வழிகொடுத்து.

7 This is expressed by a contraction.

8 There is some mistake here, it is perhaps கற்பிச்சிவிதமெல்லாம் செயகட ஒலெ.

9 This may be நிச்சல் நடச்சிலவுக்கு as in *l.* 15 of the Mamballi plate, or நிச்சல் சிலவுக்கு.

10 This ought to be முன்றுப்பறக்கும் as in *l.* 21 below.

11 There is a mistake here.

12 Read perhaps ஆயிரமண்ணும்.

13 There is some mistake here; probably it is நெடும்புறம்.

14 Read நித்தஞ் செனுத்துவ.

15 பற is expressed by the symbol ௳.

16 Read ஒருபறெச் செய்தாக.

17 Read மணிகண்டனுமயம்மயாய; கீழப்பேரூர் உடய occurring after it, has perhaps to be taked before மணிகண்ட.

18 Read செனுத்துமாறு.

18 ஆவணியாய பிள்ளையார் தருவடிக்கு ஒள்ள பழைக்குளமுடெ[1] கொட்டகாரக்கரை நெடுமண்ணும காட்டமத்தல ஆற்றுவாச்செரியும் பள்ளிக்கல் பெரிய [2]மும்மிக்கும் எப்பெர்ப்பட்டதிம்மெலும்

19 பண்டார்த்தில் நின்றெடுத்து கொடுத்த அச்சு உாசமி னும் [3]செதுமாறு கற்ப்பிச்ச நெல் யிருநூற்றிநால்பது பறயும் [*|] திறப்பாப்பூர் தெவதரன் ஆவணியாய பிள்ளயார் திருவடிக்குள்ள

20 கரிச்செவும் நாலுபறெத்தலுவும்[4] முட்டக்காடும்[5] இவயூர்கூடெ எப்பெர்ப்பட்டதிமெலும் பண்டாரத்தில நிந்நும் கொடுத்த அச்சு [6]ஒருநூற்றிகால்ப்பதின்னும் கொடுக்குமாறு

Third plate: second side.

21 கற்ப்பிச்ச நெல் யிருநூற்றிநால்ப்பது பறயும்[*|] கூடெ நெல் [7]கண்ட அமெ யும் கொண்டு நாள் ஒன்றின்னு நெல் முப்பறபால் அரி தெவர் இரட்டமடயால் நால்ப்பத்தெண்ணாழி ஆவதும் மெற்ச்சாந்திக்கு அரி நானாழி உரியும்

22 கிழ்ச்சாந்தி ஒன்றின்று அரி முந்நாழி [8]அரியும் கிழ்ச்சாந்தி ஒன்றின்று அரிமுந்நாழியும் ர்க்குடக்கு[9] அரி யிருநாழியும முச்செடெ[10] ஸ்ரீவெலிக்கு [11]வைச்சியதெயத்தின்னும் அரி முந்நாழி [8]அரியும் புலரியெ திருஅமர்தினு

23 அரி அஞ்ஞாழியும் உச்சக்கெ திருஅமர்தின்னு அரி யிருபத்தொரு நாழி [8]அரியும் இரா அத்தாளத் திருஅமர்கின்னு அரி அஞ்ஞாழியும் கூடெ அரிநால்பத்தெண்ணாழியும் நெராக இம்மார்க்கமெ சிலவும் [12]சிலத்தி வருவிதாகவும் [|*]

24 இதில் திருஅமர்து சிலவின்ற அரி முப்பத்தொருநாழி [8]அரியும் கொண்டு வாரியனு அஞ்ஞாழி அரி சொறும் [13]திறப்பள்ளிதாயத்தின்னு [14]நாலாழி அரிசொறும் திருமெனிகாவல்க்கு நில்க்கும் பிள்ளெறக்கு முந்நாழி அரிச் சொறும் திரு-

25 அமர்தின்னு நெல் குத்துவிதும் கைவிளக்கு பிடிப்பிதும்ஞ்[15] செயிவின்றெ தெவடிச்சிகள்க்கு யிருந்நாழி அரிச் சொறும் திருவெலிக்கு [16]பணியெழுதும் கொட்டின்றெ [17]வயச்சகள் பெர் [எ]ழின்னும்

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1 Read குளமுங்.

2 There is some misreading here.

3 Read செல்லுமாறு.

4 The correct name cannot be guessed.

5 Read இவையுங் or it may be குவையூருங்கூட as in p. 51 of *T. A. S.* Vol III.

6 Read இருநூற்றி.

7 Read தூஅமெ.

8 Read உரியும், உ having been misread as அ.

9 திருக்குடைக்கு.

10 Read திச்சல் (?) ஸ்ரீபெலிக்கும்.

11 Read வைச்சுவதெவத்தின்னும் (Skt. வைஶ்வதேவ).

12 Read செலுத்தி.

13 Read திருப்பள்ளித்தாமத்தின்னு

14 Read நானாழி.

15 Cancel ம்.

16 Read திருப்பலிக்கு பணிபெழுங்(ம்).

17 Read உவச்சகள்.

W

Fourth plate: first side.

26 பெரொன்றின்னு அரி யிருநாழி அரி[1] செங்கதாக பெர் எழின்னும் பதினெழு நாழி [2]அரி ச்சொறும் கொடுத்து நொரவருவிது [||*] பெப்பு [2]கழிப்புமூன்[பொ]ராண்டில் மெச்சாந்தி நம்பியிடெ

27 கொள்ளும் அச்சு இரண்டும் கிழ்(ர்)ச்சாந்தியிடெ கொள்ளும் அச்சு ஒன்றும் வாரியனிடெ கொள்ளும் அச்சு ஒன்றும் பள்ளித்தாயத்திடெ[3] கொள்ளும் அச்சு ஒன்னும் கூடெ அச்சு

28 அஞ்சும மூன்றெ ஆண்டில் நடெவழியிடெ[4] பூவாண்டாயி கூடி சிரிகாரியம் செயின்றெ கொயிம்மாரும் ஊராளரும் கூடி [5]தங்ஙரெஞ்ஞ வக கூலியுடெ[6] கொள்ளாதெ

29 ஸ்ரீபண்டாரத்தில் வைப்பிச்சு பட்டாரக்கரெக்கு வெண்டும் பாத்திரத்தின்னும் அழிவின்னும் கொள்விதாகவும் கற்ப்பிச்சு [||*] இச்சிலவு ஓராண்டில் இரிருவரு கூடி செலத்துமாறும் கல்ப்பிச்சிது [||*]

30 இச்சிலவு முட்டுவிதாகில் ஊராழ்மமயெ விட்டு பொவிதாகவும் [||*] பட்டார[கர்க்*] கொள்ள தொம்மின்னும் ஸ்ரீகொவில்க்கும்[7] மொரூத்தம் வரும்பொழ் தவிடெ கூடி நின்று

Fourth plate: second side.

31 [8]பரிபரிராதர் வரு அறதல [||*] முதலாண்டு செலத்தும் ஊராளரு பெர் குற்றம்பள்ளிச் சுவாகரன் தாமொதிரனும் பிணங்ஙாட்டு நாராயணன் ஸ்ரீகுமாரனும் இரண்டாமாண்டு வாரணக்கொட்டத்து

32 தெவநாராயணனும் குளங்ஙாட்டு தெவடெ[9] கொடனும் மூன்றுமாண்டு புதுவாக்க ஸ்தானம்[10] ந்தகுத்தனும் வாவுகாட்டு [11]திராதன் தெவனும் நாலாமாண்டு விலக்கிலிமங்ஙலத்து தாமொதிரன் கிருட்டனும்

33 கமுகஞ்செரி சத்திவிக்கிரமனும் அய்யாமாண்டு மகழஞ்செரி விக்கிரம நாராயணனும் வஞ்ஞிப்புழெ ருத்திரன் சங்கரனும் இம்மார்க்கமெ சிலவு சிலத்தி இவர் ஒருத்தரிரில் மூத்தபுத்திர அதிகாரம் செலுத்தி-

34 வருவிதும்[12] [||*] ஸ்ரீவிரதெவ[13] மார்த்தாண்டவர்ம்ம திருவடி நகரூரில் செங்ஙகழு[14] வீரமங்ஙலத்து குமாரநாராயணனிட்டெ[15] விலயில் கொண்ட கிழ்க்காண்டொரவி[16] பதின்பறெ வித்துபாடும் ஷெயில் மூந்நூறு பற

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1 Read உரிச்சொருக and உரிச்சொறும்.

2 பெயர்ப்பு கழிப்பு or ஒப்புகழிப்பு மூன்றெ ஆண்டில்.

3 Read பள்ளித்தாமத்திடெ.

4 Probably நடவடியிடெ or நடுவாழியிடெ? as in *l.* 9 above.

5 This may perhaps be தங்ஙள்தங்ஙள் or தங்கள்க்கொள்ள as in *l.* 43 of the Mamballi plates.

6 Read கூலியிங்.

7 It is not possible to make this out; it may be முறைகுற்றம்.

8 This may probably be பரியரியாதெ வரு அருது.

9 Read தெவங் கொவனும்.

10 See footnote 1 on page 79 *ante*.

11 See footnote 2 on page 79 *ante*.

12 Read வருவிது or வருவதாகவும்.

13 Read ஸ்ரீவீர உதயமார்த்.

14 Read செக்கழுநீர்மங்.

15 Cancel ட்.

16 Probably கிழ்க்குண்டாரொடி.

35 நெல்லில் [1]கூறிக்கொடுத்த கரிக்கின்ற மெக்காணத்தூர் பூமி முப்பறெ வித்து பாடும கூடெ நிலம் பதிமுப்பறெ வித்துபாடும் அதின்னு [2]நடும் காடும்

[இது—க முதல் ச வரை செம்பு பட்டபம் சம் கண்டு எழுதியது][3]

[*Fifth plate missing.*]

Sixth plate: first side.

[4][ரு-மது பட்டயம் வங்கிட்டில்லா -சு மது-]

46 நிலம் இடஙனாழியால் எழுந்நாழி வித்துபாடும் [5]எண்நிலம் பதினொருபற வித்துபாடும் தொட்டிகொடு நிலம் அயிம்பறெ வித்துபாடும் மண்ணடி நிலம்

47 எழுபற இடங்ஙழியால் அஞ்ஞாழி வித்துபாடும் தடாங்ஙொடு நிலம் பந்திரு பறெ வித்துபாடும் வெட்டிக்கொடு நிலம் நாலப்பறெ வித்துப்பாடும் வெட்டியத்துகண்டம் ஒருபறெ இடங்ஙழியால் யிருநாழி

48 உரி வித்துபாடும் பெரும்பறயூர்[6] நிலம் ஒருபறெ வித்துபாடும் செங்கூறு நி-லம் பதின்பறெ வித்துபாடும் செறுமாவெலிநிலம் அயிம்பறெ வித்துபா-டும் முண்டக்க நிலம் மூப்பறெ வித்து பாடும் செறுகடமண்[7]

49 நிலம் ஒருபற வித்துபாடும் கிர்த்திமங்ஙலம் பதிம்பறெ வித்துபாட்டிம் மெல் பாட்டடெ[8] கொள்ளும் நெல் யிருபத்தொருபறயும் [9]அஞ்சளிகொள்ள பூமியதினு அயிம்பற வித்துபாடும ஆக நிலம்

50 பதினாழி பறயால் ஒருநூற்றெழு பற வித்துபாடும் இவயூ[10] எல்லாற்றினும் ஒள்ள காடும் கரயும் கரப்புரயிடவும் ஆளும் மிக்த குந்நலத்தூர் [11]கண்ட-னுழ்த்திரனுடெ அதிகாரரு கொண்டுடய

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1 Probably கூறுகொடுத்த[தி*] கரிக்கின்ற.

2 Read படும்.

3 The portion in brackets indicates that the preceding is a true copy of the first four sheets of a set of copper plates.

4 This remark in the cadjan copy indicates that the fifth plate of the set is missing and that the following is a transcript from the sixth plate onwards.

5 There is some mistake in the name of the land.

6 Read பெரும்பறவூர்.

7 செறுநெடுமண் occurs in *l.* 11 of the Mamballi plate of Virakēraḷavarman, and செறுகுழிமண் in *l.* 57.

8 Read பாட்டங்.

9 This may possibly refer to அஞ் ாலிவாரம்.

10 Read இவை எல்லாவற்றினும்

11 Read கண்ட னுத்திரனுடெ

Sixth plate: second side.

51 தொம்ம எப்பெர்ப்பட்டதும் கூட கீழப்பெரூர் திருப்பாற்க்கடல்ப்பட்டார-
கர்க்கு [1]தச்சிந்தரமாறு தெவரு கர்ம்மிகளொடு கூடா[2] விட்டுக் கொடுங்-
து[3] கிழிலயம்[4] பெர் மெல்ப்பாதியும விட்டி[5]

52 நிக்கி ஒள்ளது கொண்டு தச்சு பண்ணுமாறும் கல்ப்பிச்சு ஒலயுய் எழுதி ஸ்ரீ-
பண்டாரத்திலிட்டிது [॥*]முந்நூற்றுநால்ப்பத்தொன்றுமாண்டெ சிங்-
ஙஞாயறு ஒன்று சென்ற நாள் ஆநாடு சிவித்ததில் [6]வக மிளியூர்[7]-

53 ப் பூமி யிருபதுபறெ வித்துபாடும் இதின்னு [8]நடுடெ காடும் கரயும் கரப்பு-
ரயிடமும் எப்பெர்ப்பட்டதும் வெம்பாய் [9]கூன்றஞ் சிவிதத்தில் கண்ட-
மங்கலத்தினெக்கொள்ள தொமமுடெ காரியத்திம் மெடெ [10]ஆண்டு-

54 வரெ கொள்ளும் ரெல் பகின்பறயும் ரெற்பாடு சிவித்ததில் கிள்மணக்கு ஒ-
ள்ள தொம்மிம்மெல் கொண்டுவரும் ரெல் பதின்பறயும் மெல்ப்படியில்
மெலச்செரி கண்டன் இரவிக் கொள்ள தொம்மின்மமெல்

55 கொண்டுவரும் ரெல பதின்பறயும் மெவூர்க்கொள்ள தொம்மின்ம்மெல் மெ-
ல்ப்படியில் கொள்ளும் ரெல் பதின்பறயும் ஆறுட்டு செறுவலளகக்காத[11]-
ரன் தொம்மின்ம்மெல் கொண்டுவரும் ரெல் பதின்பறெயும்

Seventh plate: first side.

56 ஆக ஆண்டுவரயும் பதிளுழிப்பறயால் கொண்டுவரும் ரெல் அய்ம்பதுபறெ-
ச் [12]செந்தும் வரு [13]மிளியூர் நிலம் யிருபதுபற வித்துபாடுங் காடுங் கரயு-
ம் கரெபுரயிடவும் கூட ஸ்ரீவிரவதெவ[14] மார்த்தாண்டவர்ம்ம திருவடி-

57 க் கமெஞ்ச அதிகாரர் விலயில் கொண்டு கிடங்நம்மார்க்கமெ கீழப்பெரூர் தி-
ருப்பாற்க்கடல் பட்டாரகர்க்கு சாந்திசெய்யும் [15]இரவியர் கீழ்ச்சாந்திக்கு
[16]நிரத்தியாக ஆசந்திரவர் கற்ப்பிச்சிது [॥*]முந்நூற்றுநாலா-

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1 Probably செலவின்றுமாறு as in *l.* 72 of the Mamballi plates of Vīrakēraḷavarman; but it is not certain. It may also be *tachchu* (skt. *Dīkshā ?*) as in *Tachchuḍaiya-kaimmaḷ*.

2 Read கூடி.

3 Read கொடுத்து.

4 This is not clear; it may perhaps be கீழியக்கம் as on page 91 of the *T. A. S.*, Vol. IV.

5 Read விட்டுநீக்கி.

6 Read சீவிதத்தில்.

7 This occurs as வருமிளியூர் in line 56 below.

8 Read படுங்.

9 Read வெம்பாய்க்குன்றஞ்.

10 Read மெல் but the expression occurs in other places as தொம்மின்மெல்.

11 Probably செறுவலைக் கொள்ள.

12 அய்ம்பதுபறெச் செய்தும்.

13 This occurs as வகமிளியூர் in *l.* 52 above: but here it may be ஷெ மிளியூர்.

14 Read வீர உதயமார்த்தாண்ட°.

15 Read இரு பியர் or இருவர்

16 Read விருத்தியாக.

58 மாண்டெட[1] மெடஞாயறு ஒன்று சென்ற-நாள்-முல்லக்கல் கெருளன் [2]ஆதிச்-
சவர்ம்மன் கீழ் கிள சிரெயூர்க்கலில் ஒற்றிகொண் டதிகரிக்கின்ற நிலம்
[3]அடிமயாலகொடு ந்தின்[4] அயிம்பறெ வித்துபாடும் [5]மலெக்களில்

59 [6]மூந்நனந்நப்பெரூர் நிலம் அயிம்பது பறெ வித்துபாடும ஷெயூர் [7]மெடுடெ
குனி நிலம் யிருபது பற வித்துபாடும் ஆகயில் [8]என்பத்தன்பறெ வித்-
துபாடினு உடென் ஆண்டுவரயும் அதிகார்க்கு கொடுக்குமாறு

60 கற்ப்பிச்ச நெல் பதி[ஞ]ழி பறயால் நூறுபறெ [9]செவதும் ஆண்டு வரயும்
தி[ரு*]ப்பார்க்குடல்ப் பட்டாரகர்க்கு மெச்சாந்தி செய்யுமவர்க்கு மெ-
ல்சாந்தி விருத்திக்கு முன்னம் சிரெயூர்க்கலு

Seventh plate: second side.

61 மாருதூர் மண்டொடி மெடெ[10] கல்ப்பிச்ச நெல்லினு [11]பகரம்நிரத்தி வக-
யிட்டு கொடுந்து[12] ஆண்டுவரயும் நெல் நூறுபறயும் அளவு கொடுத்து
தெவரு கற்மமிகள் எழுத்திஞல் குறியும் கொண்டு-

62 வருமாறும் இசிலவு ஒன்றுடெ[13] முட்டுகில் முட்டிரட்டியும் இரண்டு துடெ
முட்டுகில முட்டிரட்டியும் தெண்டவும் மூன்று முட்டுகில்[14] கெருளன்[2]
ஆதிச்ச-

63 வர்மமக்கொள்ள தொம்மு எண்பத்தயிம்பறயும் வித்துபாடு ஆண்டுவரயும்
நெல் நூறுபறயும கொடுக்கவதும்[15] மெச்சாந்தி விருத்திக்கு அளவு
கொள்ளுமாறும் அளவு கொடுக்குமாறும் கற்ப்பிச்சு ஸ்ரீபண்டாரத்தில்

64 ஓலையும் எழுதி யிட்டிது [॥*] ௬[16] . . . . டெ மிதுனஞாயறு காடவக்-
குட்டுமலக்கு மெலத்திலதமங்கலத்து தெவன் இரவிக்கு இளம்பெல
கொயிம்மாரொடு வளககு [17]நாவுடெ கயின்று

65 மொள்ள தொம்மு எப்பெர்ப்பட்டதும்[18]

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1 Read மாண்டை as in other places.

2 Read கேரளன்.

3 The correct name is not known.

4 Read பதின் அயிம்பறெ which gives the total 85 *paṟa* in the next line.

5 Read முல்லக்கலில் as in line 58.

6 There seems to be some mistake in the name.

7 Read perhaps மெட்டுக்குழி or மெடுங்குழி?

8 Read ஆகயில் எண்ப°.

9 நாறுபறெச் செய்தும்.

10 Read மருதூர் மண்டொடிமெல்.

11 It means 'after settling the equivalent'.

12 Read கொடுத்து.

13 Read ஒரு துடெ where துடெ is an incorrect form of தடவை. It occurs also as துடை in the Vellāṇi inscription (Vol. III, p. 36).

14 துடெ is omitted after மூன்று; the penalty for the third default is not clearly expressed.

15 Read perhaps கொடுக்ககடவதும்.

16 The year has been left out.

17 This is unintelligble; நாவுடெ may be a misreading for நாடுங். கயின்றெடு occurs in the Tiruvalla plates as a land-name.

18 The cadjan copy stops here.

W

No. 25—Tiruvidangodu Inscription of Kollam 864.

This inscription is engraved on a stone set up near the Mosque at Tiruvidāṅgōḍu and relates to the construction of a shed at Pudūr for the convenience of strangers and registers a gift of land and *puraiyiḍam* for its proper upkeep. The inscription is in the Tamiḻ language and alphabet and its wording is rather very loose and redundant, as is the case with later epigraphs.

Text.[1]

First face.

1 ஹரி நஸ்ருக [।*]
2 சிங்ஙத்தில் வியாழ-
3 ம் நின்ற கொல்லம்
4 ௮௱[௬]௰௪ ௵ மார்க-
5 ழி மீ ௨௰௪ சென்ற
6 புதனுச்சையும
7 மகயிரமும் பூறுவ-
8 பக்கிஷத்து திறையெ-
9 ாதெசியும் சுபபி-
10 றமாநித்தியோக-
11 மும் இந்நாளால்
12 புதூர்தெசத்து
13 சணக்கு தெவனிர-
14 வியும் பள்ளிச்-
15 சல் ஈச்சுவரன்
16 ஈச்சுவரனும் பெ-
17 ா[ல்லா]பிளளையா-
18 ன் பிள்ளையானும்
19 ஷெ தெசத்து புது-
20 வூர் அம்பலம் கெ-
21 ட்டி முகிக்கையில் ெ-
22 சழும் குறைப்பணி-
23 யும் முகிச்சு தானப்பி-
24 றமாணமாக விட்டுகொடுத்த
25 நிலம்[।*] புதூர் தெ-
26 சத்து ஷெ குளத்தின்
27 கீழ் நீருண்டு ௨ விளை-
28 யு முருக்கறை தடி க ௨
29 ரூ ப—யும் ஷெ கண்ட-
30 ச்சை குளத்தின்
31 [கீழ்] பிள்ளையான்
32 பிள்ளையான ஒற-
33 [த்த]ன் நா[ரா]யணன்

1 Registered No. 69 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1096 M. E.

Second face.

[One line damaged].

- 34 கொண்ட
- 35 நடுவில் நிலம்
- 36 ௩ ப-க்கு எல்லை
- 37 ஆவிது [।*]உப்பு-
- 38 த்தறைககும் செ
- 39 னம்ப[ா*]றைக்கும்
- 40 நடுவில் நிலம்
- 41 ௩பறைக்கும் [।*] மு
- 42 ஊயடிக்கும்
- 43 நால்லெ[ல்*]லை-
- 44 க உழ்ப்பட்ட
- 45 நடுவில் நில-
- 46 ம் ௩ ப-யும் மு
- 47 ருக்கறை-தடி
- 48 க நீ நால்-
- 49 எல்கை உ-
- 50 ழ்ப்பட்ட நீ
- 51 ௩ ப-யும்ஆக-
- 52 த்தடி இரண்-
- 53 டினல் நிலம்
- 54 ௯ ப-யும் ஒஷி
- 55 அமபலத்து-
- 56 க்கு விட்டு குடு-
- 57 த்தா[ன்] நில-
- 58 ம் காடும்
- 59 கரையும்
- 60 முருக்க[றை]
- 61 விழாகம் உ-
- 62 [ட்ப்பட்ட] ந-
- 63 ால்எல்கை
- 64 உழ்ப்பட்ட

Third face.

- 65 முருக்கறை விழாகம் பு-
- 66 ரையடம் மண்ணடங்-
- 67 க மரமடங்க தடி இர-
- 68 ண்டினல் நிலம் ௯ப-யும்
- 69 முருக்கறை விழாகம்
- 70 புரயடம்ழும்[।*] ஒஷ-
- 71 யார் கெட்டி முகி-
- 72 ச்ச அம்பலத்துக்கு த-
- 73 ானப்பிறமாணமா-
- 74 க நிலம ௯ ப-யும் புரை-
- 75 ரயடம் ஒன்றும் த-

76 ரனப் பிரமாணம-
77 ாக விட்டு கல்லும்
78 வெட்டி நாட்டிக்கு-
79 டுத்தார்கள் [।*] தெவன்
80 இரவி முதல் பெரும்
81 பள்ளிச்சல் ஈச்சு-
82 வரன் ஈச்சுவரனு-
83 ம் அய்யப்பன் மா-
84 டப்பன் முதல் பெ-
85 ரும தானப்பிறமா-
86 ணமாக பிரமாங்கு-
87 ழியில் மெற்கு தெக்கு ஆக
88 நிக்கும் குற்றிமரம் ஒன்றுங்
89 கூட கல்லுவெட்டி நாட்டி
90 க்குடுத்த . . [।*] . . .
91 க்கில் பொகிற . ண்டாம்
92 நிலமும் புரையிடமும்
93 யாவிச்சுக்கொண்டு த-
94 [ன்]மம் இறுத்தினபடி த-
95 ண்ணிரும் [சுண்ணு] ம்பு-
96 ம் குடுத்து அம்பலத்தில்
97 . . . . .

Fourth face.

98 சாவடியும்
99 கெட்டிப்பெ-
100 ணிவைச்சு-
101 கொண்டு இ-
102 ருக்கையில்
103 இங்நிலத்தினு-
104 ம் புரையிட்-
105 த்தினு தடை-
106 இடைக்க . .
107 ருகில் ஷெ தெ-
108 சத்து நாலு செ-
109 பருவ கூடி த-
110 டை தித்து குடு-
111 க்குமாறும் [।*] இ-
112 ங்நி[ல*]த்தினும் புரை-
113 ரயடத்தினும்
114 யாதா ஒருவ-
115 ர் ஆகிலும இர-
116 ண்டகம் நி[னை]-
117 னக்கி[ன்ற]·பெர் செ-
118 கங்கைக்கரை-
119 யில்[நி]ன்று
120 காராம் ப-

121 சவைக்கெ[ர*]-
122 ன்ற தொழு-
123 ழும் [கைய்]ெ·
124 யத்து சொ-
125 ள்ளுவாரா-
126 கவும் [।*]இப்ப-
127 டி தம்மதித்து
128 இந்நிலமும்
129 புரயடமு-
130 ம் தானப்பி-
131 றமாணமா-
132 க கல்வெட்டி
133 நாட்டிக்குடு-
134 . . . .
135 . . . .

Translation.

Hari ! Be it well ! On this day *i. e.*, the 24th expired of the month of Mārgaḻi in the Kollam year 864 in which Jupiter stood in Simha, a Wednesday the thirteenth *tithi* of the first fortnight which had Mṛigaśīrsha-nakshatra and Subhabrahma-yōga, Dēvaṉ-Iravi, the accountant of Puduvūr, Īchchuvaraṉ of Paḷḷichchal and Pollāppiḷḷai *alias* Piḷḷaiyāṉ, who took up the construction of the *ambalam* (temple) at Puduvūr, completed the balance of work and made the following gifts of land:—

(i) The paddy-yielding land called Murukkaṟai fed by the tank in Puduvūr-dēśam, 1 *taḍi* (in extent and having the sowing capacity) of three *kuṟuṇi*,

(ii) the middle (block of) land within the four peg-marked boundaries (having the sowing capacity) of 3 *kuṟuṇi* watered by Kaṇḍachchaikuḷam and obtained from Oṟattaṉ-Nārāyaṇaṉ, the son of Piḷḷaiyāṉ, *i. e.*, the three *kuṟuṇi* of land lying between Upputtarai and Śeṉampaṟai.

Thus the lands, *viz.*, the middle peg-marked block (having the sowing capacity) of 3 *kuṟuṇi* and the land called the Murukkaṟai, which is 1 *taḍi* (in extent and having the sowing capacity) of 3 *kuṟuṇi*—altogether, lands (having the sowing capacity) of 6 *kuṟuṇi*: these lands were assigned to the said temple inclusive of *nilam*, *kāḍu*, *kaṟai*, Murukkarai-viḷāgam with its four boundaries, and the soil of and trees on the *puraiyiḍam* called the Murukkarai-viḷagam-puraiyiḍam. These lands (having the sowing capacity) of 6 *kuṟuṇi* comprised in two *taḍi* and Murukkaṟai-viḷāgam-puraiyiḍam, were given as charity to the shed built by the said persons, and they had the gift engraved on stone and had it setup.

Dēvaṉ-Iravi, Īchchuvaraṉ-Īchchuvaraṉ of Paḷḷichchal, Ayyappaṉ-Māḍappaṉ and others also gave as charity the *kuṟṟi* tree, which lies in the west and south of Piramāṅguḷi.

If while in enjoyment of these two lands and the *puraiyiḍam*, they conduct the charity supplying water and chunam and . . . . in a *chāvaḍi* built in the *ambalam*, and any impediment or obstruction arise to the said lands and *puraiyiḍam*, the four persons of the said village shall meet and jointly free the impediment.

If any one think evil to these lands and *puraiyiḍam,* he shall incur the sin of killing tawny cows on the banks of the Ganges.

Thus agreeing, these lands and *puraiyiḍam* were given as charity, accompanied by a deed which was engraved on a stone and set up.

No. 26—Tiruvidangodu Inscription of Kollam 628.

The subjoined inscription is engraved in Vaṭṭeḻuttu on a stone set up near the girls' school at Tiruvidāṅgōḍu. On the importance of this document, the following note has been made in the Annual Report for 1096 M. E.—

"It tells us that there existed sharp differences between the two communities of Veḷḷanāḍar and Veḷḷāḷar from times earlier than the date of the record *i. e.*, Kollam 628, Śittirai 9, leading even to a cleavage and to the adoption of such measures as were calculated to provoke a complete estrangment of the two sects. The inscription registers a social ostracism passed by the Veḷḷāḷar against the Veḷḷanāḍar for some offence committed by the latter. This order is further stated to be in accordance with two other previous stone epigraphs on the same subject. It lays down that the Veḷḷanāḍar should not be allowed to take in marriage any girls from the Tamiḻ parts, that they should not be engaged even for cooly wages, that they should not be made to write public accounts or to manage the administration of the country, and that they should not enter in to any kind of transactions with them. At the end of the inscription is given a list of 23 persons who committed the offence which gave rise to this piece of drastic legislation; and it is said that these 23 persons should be put to death wherever found. It may be thought that by Veḷḷanāḍar, persons belonging to the modern *nāḍār* sect are meant. In this connection it is worth remembering that in the first of the clauses given above *viz*, that the Veḷḷanāḍar should not be allowed to marry girls from the Tamiḻ country shows clearly that the two sects could intermarry before. Besides, all through the record the word used is *nāḍar* and not *nāḍār*. As such, we may assume that the latter community is not meant by the inscription. The Veḷḷanāḍar who have to be regarded as equal in their social status to the Tamil Veḷḷāḷar and as having marital connections with them prior to the commission of the offence, should have been so termed from the country (*nāḍu*) whence they originally hailed; and it is not unlikely that country is in South Travancore."

A similar record exists at Kalliḍaikkurichchi in the Tinnevelly District.

Text.[1]

1 ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ [||*] நன்ருக
2 கொல்லம் ௬௱௨௰௮-
3 டாமாண்டு சித்திரை
4 மாதம் ௯உ முன்-
5 ஞள் நாட்டிய க-
6 ல்லு இரண்டி[லு]ம் வெ

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1 Registered as No. 67 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1096 M. E.

7 ள்ளாழறை வெள்ளநாட-
8 ர் பிழைக்கையாலெ நாட்-
9 டிய கல்லினு படி எ-
10 டுத்தவண்ணமெ இப்-
11 பொது வெள்[ளா]ழறை வெ-
12 ள்ளநாடர் பிழக்கை-
13 யாலெ வெள்ளநாடர்
14 தமிழ்ப் பாகத்துப் பெண்ண-
15 ஊை கெட்டருகென்றும்
16 கைய்யாளருதென்றும் ந-
17 ம்மொடுகூடக் க-
18 லிச்செவகம் செவிக்-
19 கருதென்றும் காரண-
20 ப்பட அருதென்று-
21 ம் காரியம் பறைய
22 அருதென்[*று]ம் கணக்கெ-
23 ழுதருதென்றும் தெச-
24 ம் கைய்யாள அரு-
25 தென்றும் கல்ப்பி-
26 ச்சு [॥*]பிழைச்சவர்-

Second face.

27 க்கு பெர்-
28 வழி பறு
29 வன ஏசுவ-
30 ங்கரனும்
31 அய்ய[ப்*]பன்
32 மாத்தாண்டனு-
33 ம் குமரன்
34 ராமனும் அ-
35 ய்யப்பா-
36 ண்டயும் மா-
37 த்தாண்ட மழ-
38 வராயனும்
39 [து]ம்பிச்சல்
40 மாத்தாண்ட ப-
41 ழவராயனும்
42 நம்பன் தொ-
43 ண்டைமானும்
44 செதொ மாத்தா-
45 ண்டபணிக்க-
46 னும் காரை கு-
47 ன்றனும் கொட-
48 டுர் முதலியா-
49 னும் பர்ப்ப-
50 ன் பர்ப்பன் ம-
51 க்கள் இரண்டு

Third face.

52 பெரும் படைச்சு-
53 ல முத்தையானும்
54 மாலம்பி னிரப-
55 பர ஈச்சம்பி பெ-
56 ரூர் நாயர் அய்யன்
57 பாப்பனும் மாத்தாண்-
58 டனும் ஆருசெம்பி-
59 பணிக்கனும் சடை-
60 யன் கொதையும் வ-
61 ளவன்(ன்) கண்ணனும்
62 இமி[க]ம் முருகனும்
63 தூவத்து இ[ராமனு]ம்
64 ஆகப்பேர் [உ௰௩]ம கண்-
65 [டெ]டத்து கொல்லுமாறு
66 கல்ப்பிச்சது [॥*]

Translation.

Hail ! Prosperity ! Be it well ! On this day, the 9th of the month of Śittirai in the Kollam year 628, as the Veḷḷanāḍar offended the Veḷḷāḷar, the following stipulations are ordered, just as they were adopted in two stone inscriptions set up on a previous occasion, when the (same) Veḷḷanāḍar had offended the Veḷḷāḷar:—

The Veḷḷanāḍar should not marry girls from the Tamiḻ parts: neither should they keep them. They should not do even cooly service with us. They should not transact any business with us. They should not write (our) accounts or be allowed to manage the administration of (our) villages.

The list of persons who offended (in the present instance) are.— . . . . . . Śuvaṅgaraṉ; Ayyappaṉ-Mārttāṇḍaṉ, Kumāraṉ-Rāmaṉ, Ayyappāṇḍai, Mārttāṇda-Maḷavarāyaṉ, Tumbichcha-Mārttāṇḍa Maḷavarāyaṉ, Nambaṉ-Toṇḍaimāṉ, Śēdō Mārttāṇḍa-Paṇikkaṉ, Kārai-Kuṉṟaṉ, Kōṭṭur-Mudaliyaṉ, Parpaṉ; the two sons of Parpaṉ-Paḍiachchul-Muttaiyaṉ, Mālambi, Nirappara-Īchchambi, Pērūr-Nāyar, Ayyaṉ-Pappaṉ, Mārttāṇḍaṉ, Ārusembi-Paṇikkaṉ, Śaḍaiyan-Kōdai, Vaḷavaṉ-Kaṇṇaṉ, Imigam-Murugaṉ, Tūvattu Irāmaṉ . . . . . .

In all, (these) twenty-three persons are ordered to be put to death wherever seen.

APPENDIX.

PAGE.	KOLLAM DATES AND THEIR ENGLISH EQUIVALENTS.
13	Śaka 1691, Kollam 945, Virōdhin, Aṛpaśi 23, Sunday, Uttirāḍam śu. 7: =A. D. 1769, Sunday, November 5; f.d.t. ·03; ·43.
27	Kollam 925, Tai 5, Saturn in Vriśchika, Jupiter in Mīna, Wednesday, śu. 7: =A. D. 1750, Wednesday, January 3;·76; (Rēvati ·86).
44	Kollam 278, Jupiter in Kanni, Simha 9; Details not enough for verification; but the English date may correspond to A. D. 1102, August 4, Monday; ba. 4·16; 27·54.
56	Kollam 878, Iḍavam 7, Thursday, Rōhiṇī, śu. tritīyā: =A. D. 1703, Thursday, May 6. On this day *tritīyā* commenced at ·95 and Rōhiṇī was current till ·29 only. 'Iḍavam 7 *śeṉṉa*' has to be taken in the sense of 'expired', for May 6, Thursday, was Iḍavam 8.
57	Kollam 878, Iḍavam 16, Saturday, Hastā, śu. ēkādaśī: =A. D. 1703, Saturday, May 15; f.d.t. ·09; ·76. Here also May 15, Saturday, was Iḍavam 17.
61	Kollam 240 (?), Mīna 12, Wednesday, Makayiram, pañchamī. These details are wrong for Kollam 240, which is evidently a mistake.
73	Kollam 343, Jupiter in Makaram, Mēḍam 12, Thursday, Uttiram, trayōdaśī: =A. D. 1168, Thursday, April 4; but the *tithi* and *nakshatra* were respectively ba. 10 ·90; and 23·63.
86	Kollam 864, Mārgaḷi 20, Wednesday, Makayiram, śu. 13: =A. D. 1688, Wednesday, December 19, but the *tithi* and *nakshatra* were in 7·44 and U. Bhad. 65; but on A. D. 1688, Monday, December 24, the *tithi* was śu. 13·88 and nak. Mrig. commenced from ·33 of day.

No. 1—appeared in the *Modern Review* for October 23.
No. 5—appeared in the *Indian Antiquary* for January 24.